A STUDY OF GOLDSMITH AS A PRECURSOR OF THE ENGLISH ROMANTICS

A Thesis

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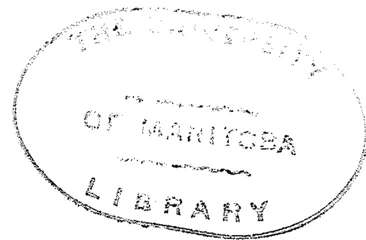

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by

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In this thesis an attempt is made to establish Goldsmith's position as a critic and as an author in relation to the ideological background of his time. Goldsmith's chief works are examined in order to discover both the extent to which he was influenced by the changing ideologies, and the contribution he made to further these changes which eventually evolved into romanticism. Found in Goldsmith's writings are such tendencies and features which mark the changing ideas of eighteenth century thought as: distrust of rules, and in their stead a reliance on taste guided by feeling as a standard for judging aesthetic validity; the desire for an historical view of aesthetic criticism; an interest in the particular, in men, not Man; faith in the instinctive goodness of human beings, and in the high moral value of sympathy or benevolence; an interest in humanitarian reforms; an insistence on the rights and dignities of man; attacks on wrongs in the established order; accurate observation of nature; an interest in death and mutability; an interest in folk poetry and in ballads. While some aspects of his writing are definitely neo-classic, the finding in Goldsmith's works of so many tendencies which contributed to the rise of romanticism marks him as a man in the front rank of those who held the changing ideas. Furthermore it is noted that two of Goldsmith's works, The Vicar of Wakefield and The Deserted Village, contributed directly to the rise of the romantic movement. Therefore, it is concluded that Goldsmith may justly be called a precursor to the English romantics.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Goldsmith's mind was entirely unfurnished."[1] "Sir, he knows nothing; he has made up his mind about nothing."[2] These two opinions concerning Goldsmith were expressed by two of his closest friends. The first was written by Sir Joshua Reynolds in his Portrait, found with the Boswell Papers and with other Reynolds' manuscripts in a stable-loft at Malahide Castle in 1940; the second was uttered by Johnson in one of his pronouncements at the "Club".

Neither opinion is entirely justified and the second one has even less cause for justification than the first. It is true that Goldsmith had no large sedimentary mass of information, but he was not interested in such. He was interested in observing his fellow man. He was, like the title of one of his works, a 'Citizen of the World'. His biographers have told us that he possessed an extensive library, and he knew where to find information when he wanted it, and if not profundity, he had keen powers of penetration. He had, moreover, made up his mind about several things and he repeated his opinions with marked frequency. These opinions were largely a reflection of the thought and beliefs of the time in which he lived.

Oliver Goldsmith was born somewhere between 1728 and 1731--the exact date is still in doubt--and he died on the

4th of April, 1774. His whole life was lived, therefore, during the period called the European Enlightenment, a period which extends roughly from the middle of the seventeenth to the close of the eighteenth century. In the world of letters this period is often called the neo-classic era, because the standards of aesthetic values and criticism were in large part those of the ancient classics. In his book, From Classic to Romantic, Bate uses the word "humanism" to describe the general outlook or system of values which largely permeated classical thought. Humanism

> viewed man's intellectual and moral nature as ideally the same, and it assumed as its goal the evolution of the total man in accordance with that view. It especially emphasized man's ethical 'reason' as his own distinctive nature, and as the means of gaining insight into the ideal and of comprehending the standard or end which this ideal comprises. Humanism, as it is used in this special sense, is almost another word for classicism itself. Similarly, the codification of some of the means and premises which Renaissance humanism postulated for the attainment or portrayal of this standard, the carrying to an extreme conclusion of others, and the counteractions to which this codification gave rise, may, in a general sense be said to comprise neo-classicism as an historical phenomenon.[3]

Wellek in his history of modern criticism warns us against singling out the neo-classical tendency to rely upon the codification of some of the means for portraying the ideal, that is upon the rules adhered to by certain neo-classical critics as a standard for judging art, and there-after labelling the whole complex system of thought known as neo-classicism, with its counter influences and

its cross currents, by this one tendency.

> These laws were not as the older caricature of neo-classicism assumed, simply taken over from Aristotle or the other ancients because of veneration for their authority as authority. We cannot interpret the history of criticism merely as a revolt against such authority and call any disavowal of it 'romantic'.[4]

Wellek's treatment of neo-classicism is necessarily brief in his introductory chapter, since he is concerned with a history of criticism and he is interested in the actual literary criticism written by representative writers. Bate, on the other hand, traces the history of ideas throughout the thought of the time. With slight differences in emphasis on certain aspects of neo-classicism and somewhat divergent views[5] on others, the two men are virtually in agreement in their treatment of the subject. In endeavouring to trace the idealogical influences throughout neo-classicism, we shall rely for the greater part on Bate, calling on Wellek, or Lois Whitney to whom we shall refer later, only for specific references.

In his thinking Goldsmith reflected humanistic and neo-classical influences, and his writings reveal the impact made upon him by some of the changes in the thought of the time. Consciously or unconsciously he was pulled now by the classical outlook, now by counteractions within it, and again by some response within himself to some new influence casting its effect upon the aesthetic standards and ideals of the day.

In order adequately to determine the manner in which Goldsmith fits into the aesthetic thought of his time and the extent to which his works affect that thought, it is necessary first to review some of the ideas and ideals held by philosophers and aesthetic critics in his time, and the counteractions which arose in opposition to, or parallel with those ideas or ideals.

The classical artist was interested in man, not in external nature. "Nor does _nature_," says Wellek, "Mean _dead nature_--still life or outdoor landscape--as it is frequently used today, but reality in general and especially human nature."[6] Whether he sought to portray physical or moral beauty, the classical artist looked for that beauty and its ideal in the human being. Similarly, the traditional humanistic stress was upon man, his moral knowledge, and its cultivation, rather than upon the scientific investigation of the external world. The poet, in order to portray man,

> must be versed in the customs and manner of men, not as they are viewed under local and contemporary conditions, but as they mirror the immutable principles and aspirations of human beings throughout history.[7]

Because of classical antiquity's long experience with society, and the brilliant interpretations it evolved, a study of its verdicts became of primary value and importance to the neoclassic artist's comprehension of man's ideal and general nature.

Classicism striving always to attain to and to depict the ideal and general nature, was opposed to the naturalistic and to the personal and local. Emotion for its own sake was distrusted, because it arose as a response to a specific happening. This distrust of emotion did not rule out the portrayal of the passions under conditions in which they revealed the universal and unchanging man, but classicism did not believe that man's feelings and emotional responses were in themselves inherently good. Furthermore, feelings were considered too changeable to be depended upon in judging aesthetic values. Only by the direct use of man's ethical reason may the universal or the ideal be known.

The classic ideal, because it is the general, the distilled quintessence of man, as it were, is shorn of any individual, and hence from a classic viewpoint, defective characteristic. The ideal thus attains a serenity, undisturbed by any peculiarly individual trait, and characterised by order, decorum, and harmony.

Neo-classic artists, striving to achieve the decorum of the classic ideal, which they sometimes confused with what was then in vogue, formed rules to regulate their aesthetic creations. These rules were based on ideas found in antiquity, principally in the aesthetics of Aristotle, but their codification and subsequent interpretation led

to controversy. Among the dramatic rules, those governing the "unities" were most disputed. Some basis for the law governing the "unity of action" could be found in Aristotle, but he said nothing at all about the "unity of place," and about the "unity of time" he merely observed that the length of time elapsing in the action of tragedy differs from that of the epic. Bate's comment on the neo-classic doctrine of the "unities" is that it

> constitutes a rather exaggerated offshoot and codification of the classical emphasis on the order and probability of interrelation in the total structure of plot or outline.[8]

By the middle of the eighteenth century the unities, especially those of time and place, were taken with little seriousness by the better creative writers and by the more thoughtful critics. Dr. Johnson says of the unities that they give "more trouble to the poet than pleasure to the auditor."[9] While classicism assumed that the ideal or universal may be known only by seeking to realize it with the aid of man's ethical reason, neo-classicism often contended that this standard was to be known and achieved by method and rules. The rules of French criticism were reiterated in English neo-classic rules, which were formulated to help understand and at the same time were a part of the universal order, and thus were among the "Laws of Nature." As such are they described by Charles Gildon in his Complete Art of Poetry, 1718.

In attaining a rational insight into the decorum of the ideal, imagination and passion were relegated to an inferior position. The most outstanding neo-classic writers, however, took for granted the use of the imagination and the passions in ethical teaching and in aesthetic creation and understanding. The creative faculty of the artist was regarded in neo-classicism as invention. The faculty, in its imitation of nature, conceives the design and order of its production, and the fancy or imagination is to adorn this by figurative or symbolic expression.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, there arose in France a group of critics who found that they liked certain artistic creations which were contrary to the rules. The influence of this group, called the *je ne sais quoi group*, later spread to England. Wellek in his history of criticism quotes an article on this group by S. H. Monk which speaks of *je ne sais quoi* as "the grace beyond the reach of art."[10] The new adherents of the group relied on their feeling to justify their taste. There was no doubt that a feeling of enjoyment in contemplating an aesthetic production existed as an emotional capacity, but the question was whether such an emotional capacity could be trusted as a valid judge of aesthetic standards. Gradually there evolved the School of Taste,

which relied upon feeling to decide when the rules of aesthetic values were to be broken and when they were to be preserved. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the School of Taste, inclining to relativism and emotionalism, found justification for its views in the doctrine of voluntarism. This doctrine, originally propounded during the seventeenth century by Thomas Hobbes, declares that the will is independent of reason and knowledge. If the will, independent of reason and knowledge, is to know the good, it must rely on "sense" or an innate "feeling" which was automatically directed to the good. Early in the eighteenth century the Earl of Shaftesbury adopted this principle of the dependence of the will upon innate feeling, rather than upon reason coupled with knowledge, and sought to establish a cultivated "taste" as the fundamental basis of both artistic and moral values. Contending that, instead of Shaftesbury's adopting a principle of Hobbes, Hobbes and Shaftesbury each inspired separate followings, Wellek in his chapter dealing with the minor English critics divides the early history of "British aesthetics" into

> two fairly well-defined traditions: one empiricist and mechanistic, which goes back to Hobbes; the other Platonic or rather neo-Platonic, for which, in the eighteenth century, Shaftesbury was the main source.[11]

Shaftesbury, Wellek claims, combined elements of Stoicism, neo-Platonism and empiricism. With him beauty is form,

harmony perceived in the mind of the artist through intuitive judgment, not through capricious taste. Francis Hutcheson, who professes to explain and defend Shaftesbury, actually insists that taste, the aesthetic response, is the judge of beauty.

The cult of "Taste" also adapted to its own uses the principles held by the "Benevolists." In her book Primitivism and the Idea of Progress Lois Whitney traces the influence of the theory of benevolence through two different channels, one of which leads to primitivism and the cult of the "noble savage," the other tempered by rationalism leads through ideas of utilitarian reform, the greatest good for the greatest number, to theories of progress and of perfectibility in man and in human institutions. The Benevolists held that harmony was the fundamental characteristic of the order of the universe, and thus, that harmony revealed the benevolence of God. Since God is all-pervading, it follows that benevolence dominates the universe, and therefore the proper and "natural" quality of man as part of the universe is benevolence, which is a key both to his adaptation to the world, and to his perception of what is beautiful and true and harmonious. This feeling, when employed, constitutes taste, and also moral sense. The properties of this "taste" are a "noble enthusiasm," a benevolent social consciousness, and an

urbane, optimistic and harmonious good humour. From this grew up eventually, a cult of Sensibility, a trend towards which can be traced almost from Shaftesbury, through Pouilly's Theory of Agreeable Sensations, 1748, to Sterne's "Dear Sensibility." By the middle of the eighteenth century, the critics also noted the influence and validity of sensibility in judging the aesthetic norm. The Benevolists or Sentimentalists, so called by Edmund Malone, were in vogue between 1750 and 1760. They held that an internal sense, which comprises taste, transcends reason or imagination. There was a tendency among the benevolists to concentrate on the luxury of feeling for its own sake, a tendency which was sometimes carried to an extreme by the romantics of the nineteenth century.

English neo-classic conceptions of taste, besides resting upon the codification of the rules of seventeenth century rationalism, and the premise of innate sentiment, were influenced also by British psychological empiricism. The British have traditionally distrusted generalization, and in 1690 with John Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding, which maintained that "we reason about particulars," they found an authority to support their distrust of the general and their interest in the particular. Empiricism over a century later was to become a primary support of romantic criticism, but at first, in a moderate

form, because it was opposed to "the vagaries of the imagination" it aided the main neo-classic critical tendency. Hobbes called imagination a "decaying sense," and Locke, opposed to enthusiasm, considered like Addison that imagination was restricted to the retention of ideas of sight. Judgment based on a moderate empiricism was deemed the valid evaluator of ethical and aesthetic standards, and judgment in this sense came to constitute for most neo-classicists the faculty of taste, and taste for its part, came to include a capacity of judgment widened by experience and learning. According to Wellek, David Hume, whose writings were familiar to Goldsmith and whose ideas influenced Goldsmith's thought, in his essay, Of the Standard of Taste, 1757, depended solely on empiricism to determine taste. "All sentiment is right," he claims. "Beauty is no quality in things themselves. It exists merely in the mind which contemplates them."[12]

Eventually, empiricism with its emphasis on the particular, and on sensation gained from the particular, led the mind away from the universal, and in doing so, struck a blow at rationalism. The aesthetic and critical reverberations of these tendencies of British empiricism became pronounced, and in the latter half of the eighteenth century they formed the groundwork for "the heterogeneous body of assumptions, inclinations, and values called romanticism."[13]

With time, the belief came to be held that truth is to be found in or through the particular, and also by the response to the capacity in man which is imaginative and emotional rather than rational, and which is therefore rather individualistic and subjective in its working. Hence, romanticism "branches off in many directions, and no one specific work of art, no one purpose, mood, interest or genre is typical of it."[14]

Another conception of the way in which thought and ideas are produced, contained in the phrase, "association of ideas," coined originally by Locke, influenced the thinking of his day, and of the following century. One idea evokes another, according to this doctrine; an idea may arouse a parallel idea in the mind, or an idea of a cause may call forth the idea of its effect, or an idea may suggest its opposite. Gradually the belief grew up that the mind is not exclusively formed by the repetition of experience and association, but also that it is innately endowed with the capacity to receive, employ, and guide what experience brings. One of the ideas which evolved from the association of ideas, was that beauty exists in the mind which perceives, and that each mind perceives a different beauty. This led to the gradual eclipse of the classical conception of an immutable and rationally conceived ideal, and to the increasing tendency to regard art as the distinctive product of man's mental

and emotional nature. British associationism placed emphasis on the subjective relativism of taste, on the particular, and on the instinctive capacity to guide the ideas, which experience of the particular achieves. Imagination gradually assumed importance as a working and guiding part of the mind. In The Light of Nature Pursued, 1768-1778, by Abraham Tucker, imagination emerges as a process combining memory, senses, and understanding. This conception of imagination contains some foreshadowing of the romantic conception of the imagination comprising the use with an unusual intensity and instinctive facility of the whole of the unconscious mind. Tucker also exerted some influence upon later eighteenth century thought with his doctrine of coalescence, which was to have such influence upon Coleridge, Hazlitt and Wordsworth. Because of its emphasis upon the immediacy of the emotional impact of an idea, and the comprehensiveness contained in the doctrine of association, English romanticism assumed that the subjectively creative function of association also provides a valid insight into the total nature of its object. Imagination according to the doctrine of coalescence sees in terms of an integrated whole.

The importance placed by the doctrine of the association of ideas, and the doctrine of coalescence, upon emotion and the passions, led the way to the premise in romanticism

of the value of individual feeling. The emphasis which was gradually placed upon the individual, and upon feeling or sentiment, had as its starting point the subjective activity of the mind through associationism. Empiricism, having disposed of rationalism, was forced to fall back on feeling. There already existed the School of Taste and Shaftesbury's pronouncements to give some aspect of validity to the use of feeling as a test of aesthetic standards. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, between the years 1809 and 1811, von Schlegel was stating in his dramatic lectures: "Feeling perceives all in all, at one and the same time."[15] In English romantic criticism sympathy is the feeling used to give meaning to many of the tenets of romantic principles. Romantics held that imagination is capable through sympathetic intuition of identifying itself with its object, and therefore it grasps the truth of the object. Sympathy is substituted for the moral sense as man's monitor. The poet needs sympathy as part of an intense sensibility, to enter into every part of his subject, and to depict it in such a way that he can arouse like emotions in his reader. The romantics also extended the feeling of sympathy to a participation in external nature, and even to inanimate things.

In the closing years of the eighteenth century the conviction was paramount that the essential nature of man was not reason, but a conglomeration of instincts, habits

and feelings. Man came to be thought of as an ego projecting and creating its own world, restless and insecure, aware of the inadequacy of man's mind and knowledge, but comforted by scientific discoveries, and by an increasing knowledge about the phenomena of external nature. Confidence in the "natural man," which was partly humanitarian and partly political, encouraged the common romantic emphasis on the virtues of simple and rural life. William Godwin's Political Justice in 1793 extolled the basic equality of all men's "innate goodness." Eventually romanticism was to degenerate with some individual exponents of it, from spontaneity and emotional intensity to an expansive egocentricity and aimless sentimentalism, but on the whole English criticism and aesthetics, both neo-classic and romantic, were always characterized by restraint and good sense. Most of the best English romantic criticism implied some awareness of the necessity of the universal, and while feelings were relied on as a valid criterion of aesthetic values, such feelings were not merely impulses, but rather they involved all varieties of mental exercise and response.

Both neo-classic and romantic tendencies can be found in Goldsmith's writing. He was influenced by many of the trends of thought which we have mentioned and some of his works may definitely be classed as pre-romantic. His

writings, all of which were produced between the years 1757 and 1774, can perhaps be more adequately related to his time, however, if first we mention briefly some works of authors produced during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, works which showed the influence of changing opinions. Thus we shall see what books were being produced by authors who immediately preceded or were contemporary with Goldsmith. Goldsmith must have been cognizant of most of these works, and consciously or unconsciously they would have some influence upon him. Listing these works will serve a two-fold purpose; we shall learn, at least in part, which books written by his immediate predecessors and his contemporaries contributed to ideas which influenced Goldsmith, and we shall be better able to place Goldsmith in the stream of works which exemplified the changing ideas which led eventually to the romantic movement.

Ernest Bernbaum speaks briefly of many of these pre-romantic authors in his book Guide Through the Romantic Movement. We shall mention only those authors whose works included ideas which had some discernable influence upon Goldsmith, omitting others like Walpole, whose Castle of Otranto seemed to have no obvious effect upon him.

Bernbaum tells us that the term, pre-romantic--a convenient but not strictly definable term--is used to

designate the development during the eighteenth century of literary tendencies which resembled or which influenced those of the romantic movement of the nineteenth century. Pre-romantic writers were not necessarily aiming at romanticism. Few of them understood fully in what direction they were tending, and each promoted the rise of romanticism only partially or superficially or with respect to merely one or two restricted subjects or phases.

The first quarter of the eighteenth century was, as we have already seen, still strongly neo-classic in its literary ideas; rules held sway, poetry was polite, witty, urbane, satirical. Yet in 1709 Shaftesbury produced his _Inquiry Concerning Virtue or Merit_, the influence of which was to lead eventually to the School of Taste and thence to the School of Sensibility. Neo-classic drama was satirical throughout, chastising evils and follies by laughing them to scorn, but from 1696 on appeared a stream of sentimental comedies: Colly Cibber's _Love's Last Shift_, 1696 and _The Careless Husband_, 1704, Richard Steele's _Tender Husband_, 1705, and _The Conscious Lovers_, 1722, to name only a few. Sentimental comedy was an unwitting ally of Shaftesbury's philosophy. It appealed to the heart, portraying a faultless heroine, wronged by a lover or husband, who was not really wicked, but misled by worldly follies. Near the end of the play, he sees the folly of

his ways, sees the heroine as virtue in distress, melts into tears, reforms and makes amends. Still another spur to pre-romanticism, if we may be allowed the term, was given by the collectors of ballads, Lady Elizabeth Wardlaw and David Mallet, among others. Lastly, in this first quarter, there appeared a good bit of nature poetry, such as The Choice, by John Pomfret in 1700, and Rural Sports by John Gay in 1713. These poems contain praise of country life, its quietude and opportunities for leisurely contemplation, but the actual observation of nature was so superficial as to imply a lack of real interest in the theme.

In the second quarter of the century, Thomson's Seasons appeared between 1726 and 1730. This poem by its length, its closeness of observation, its fullness of detail, its affectionate delight in the smaller elements of nature, its awe and enthusiasm, gave the first real impetus to the love of external nature which was to appear in so much romantic poetry. The use of blank verse, instead of the heroic couplet, revealed in Thomson a spirit of independence. Thomson was influenced by the School of Sensibility. His poem, rebuking the world of wealth and fashion, and portraying sketches of humble virtue in distress, contained touches of humanitarianism and pathos. Other poets of the School of Sensibility include:

Henry Brooke, who gloried in the presence of God in nature, and saw Him in the migrations of birds, Joseph Warton, whose poem, The Enthusiast or The Lover of Nature, preached a doctrine of contempt for cities, and conventional life, and a love for the simple life, for solitudes, mountains, and stormy oceans, and William Collins, whose Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland showed a moral interest in the 'blameless manners' of the peasants, and an aesthetic interest in their folklore. The decade from 1740 on saw the beginning of the School of Melancholy, or of the Graveyard Poets, who, to some extent, indulged in emotion for its own sake. Edward Young's Night Thoughts belongs here, and so also does Thomas Warton's The Pleasures of Melancholy, 1747. In this same decade Samuel Richardson produced two of his novels "of Sensibility," Pamela, 1740, and Clarissa Harlowe, 1748. These novels, depicting emotions in women, with patience, sympathy and knowledge, exerted a tremendous influence on the thought of the time.

Although Gray is not strictly to be classed as a Graveyard Poet, there appeared in 1751 the most important of the Graveyard Poems, his Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard. The third quarter of the century also saw an increase in the importance of the school of Sensibility with its emphasis upon feeling as an aesthetic standard, and also, in the manner of poems and novels already produced,

with feeling deemed a subject worthy of serious consideration and portrayal. Consequent upon the increased importance of feelings as a fit subject for artistic creation, encouragement was given to the portrayal of the individual and the odd. Laurence Sterne, glorying in his incoherence and sensibilility, recorded the emotions of his characters when things happen to them.[16] At this point in his book Bernbaum places Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield, and his Deserted Village, as works which contributed to the rise of the romantic movement. We shall simply name them now, as we shall be examining them in detail later. By the time Henry Mackenzie wrote The Man of Feeling in 1771 sensitivity and feeling had come to be so important in the character of a human being, that Mackenzie makes his hero so sensitive as to be almost effeminate. The third quarter of the eighteenth century also saw some aesthetic criticism which presaged ideas held in the nineteenth century. In 1754 Thomas Warton in his Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser declared that poetry should appeal to the imagination and feelings rather than to the intellect. He emphasized the need of an historical method in criticism. Since neo-classicism judged by a universal standard, it ignored the differences between historical periods, and tended, as we have already seen, to confuse the universal with the then customary. Goldsmith held similar ideas to those of Warton

and incorporated them into his critical writings, as we shall discover in the next chapter. In 1759, the same year in which Goldsmith wrote his Enquiry into the State of Polite Learning, Edward Young produced his Conjectures on Original Composition. Young's plea for originality in composition was in the later neo-classic tradition. Authors were urged to copy nature, that is the universal ideal, rather than to copy other authors. Although Dr. Johnson dismissed the work as showing a lack of thought in Young, who urged as novelties maxims which should be taken for granted, nevertheless the work had a wide influence, especially on the continent. In 1760 Macpherson's Ossian appeared. Its hero, Fingal, and his men awed by and enjoying the grandeur of nature, lead a simple life, away from luxury. This again was a work of wide influence, and again a work scorned by Johnson, who had too keen an intellect not to detect the spurious. Lastly this quarter of the century saw an increase in the collectors of ballads, the principal of whom was Percy, whose Reliques of Ancient English Poetry appeared in 1765. Percy, as a neo-classic, modernized his texts, and apologized for qualities in the ballads not conformable to the "polished age" in which he wrote.

The last quarter of the century saw an increase in the interest in external nature. Many pre-romantics wrote

on nature and travel. There was also a vast amount of argument, much of it complex and confused, on aesthetics and literary criticism. Two writers only we wish to mention, because they proclaimed ideas previously reflected upon by Goldsmith in his writings. Blair reiterated the plea that authors should stop imitating the Greeks and Romans, and reflect on the actual life of rural England. Goldsmith had voiced the first part of this plea in his critical writings, and he had put the second part into effect in his creative writings. In 1777 Maurice Morgann's _Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff_ suggests that Falstaff should be treated as a vital, complex human being, not as an artificial contrivance of Shakespeare, nor as a puppet. With this suggestion, Goldsmith, who had spoken so fondly of Sir John in _A Reverie At the Boar's Head Tavern in Eastcheap_, would have fully agreed.

Goldsmith was in the main stream of the ideas, fluctuating and floating about him. Because of his close friendship with Dr. Johnson and Sir Joshua Reynolds, two typical neo-classicists, he was much influenced by neo-classic dogma. However, his works reveal that he was influenced also by many of the changing ideas and ideals of the time, ideas and ideals which promoted in some way the rise of romanticism. In the succeeding chapters we shall examine his writings, group by group, according to

genre, (which to a large extent affords us a chronological view of Goldsmith's consistency of thought coloured by a slight veering further towards the pre-romantic): his critical writings, his essays, his novel, his plays, and his poems, in order to determine his proper place as a pre-romantic, and to discover, if possible, which of his writings contributed to the rise of the romantic movement. In the following list the division which we make, for the sake of convenience in distinguishing features to be found in Goldsmith's writings, between tendencies to be found within the neo-classic tradition and tendencies which contributed directly to the rise of romanticism, is a purely arbitrary one, for ideas are seldom confined exclusively to any one era and with no specific idea and at no specific point can it be said that neo-classicism ceases and a pre-romantic movement begins. As an example we cite the tendency, which we have assigned to the pre-romantic features, to place high moral value on sympathy or benevolence, a tendency which we have already noted throughout the entire eighteenth century and which is shown by Lois Whitney in Primitivism and the Idea of Progress to have been a predominant factor in influencing thinking almost from the beginning of the neo-classical period. With that understanding we present the following list of some of the main tendencies or features which we expect to find in Goldsmith's

writings:

(a) Tendencies or features within the neo-classic tradition, which, however, indicate a shift in the emphasis of aesthetic values, which was to evolve into ideas leading eventually to romanticism:

1. a tendency to regard rules for regulating aesthetic creation as a hindrance to it, rather than a help,

2. a tendency to feel the need of an historical view of aesthetic criticism, i.e., different ages and different countries require different models,

3. interest in the particular, in the individual, in men, not Man,

4. a tendency to rely on 'Taste,' guided by feeling, emotion, sensibility, as a standard of aesthetic validity,

(b) Tendencies or features of pre-romanticism, which contributed to the rise of romanticism:

1. faith in the instinctive goodness of human beings,

2. faith in the high moral or religious value of sympathy or benevolence,

3. accurate observation of nature,

4. elegiac interest in death and mutability,

5. interest in humanitarian movements and reforms,

6. insistence on the rights and dignities of man, on freedom of the individual socially and politically,

7. attacks on wrongs in the established order, political, economic, social, and educational,

8. interest in folk poetry and primitive religions,

9. interest in ballads.

Certainly not all of these are found in any one piece of writing, and some influenced Goldsmith less than others, but all are found in greater or less degree in his works, and his creative writings, which he himself valued above his critical writings, contain many of the features from the second group, which led directly to the romantic movement.

CHAPTER II

THE CRITICAL WRITINGS

Goldsmith produced his first book, An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning, in 1759, two years after first engaging in the work of writing and three years after his first arrival in London from a tour of the continent, made for the most part on foot. The title of the book is rather pretentious for so slight a volume. In it Goldsmith assumes the decline of learning and of literature. After reviewing the causes leading to the decline of learning in classical times and through the "obscure ages which succeeded the decline of the Roman empire," he describes the state of learning as he saw it "on the spot" in most of the countries of Europe. He, himself, had wandered through many of the countries he mentions, earning his way by playing his flute in the villages, and disputing at the universities, where a successful disputant could often gain a prize in money, and even one who failed to win his point, could, provided he argued well, gain a night's lodging. No doubt he had learned something of the literature and learning in the countries he visited, but much of the material contained in the Enquiry is taken from French sources, particularly from Voltaire, whom Goldsmith claimed to have met. The Inquiry ends with a discussion of learning in

Great Britain, a chapter devoted to the stage, another to a comparison of various universities and a concluding chapter summing up his findings on literature in Great Britain which claimed that, though sunk from its former glory, literature in Britain might still be regenerated.

The book, reflecting many of the ideas current at the time, reveals to us that Goldsmith was strongly influenced by neo-classic doctrines and traditions, and this was at a time before he had met Johnson or Reynolds with their neo-classic outlook. We are made conscious, however, that it was the neo-classicism of the second half of the eighteenth century which influenced Goldsmith. He was aware and approved of the changes, with their emphasis on taste and on relativism, which had taken place and were taking place within the neo-classic tradition.

In the introduction to the first edition Goldsmith states:

> To mark out, therefore, the corruptions that have found a way into the republic of letters, to attempt the rescuing of genius from the shackles of pedantry and criticism, to distinguish the decay naturally consequent on an age like ours, grown old in literature, from every erroneous innovation which admits a remedy, to take a view of those societies which profess the advancement of polite learning, and by a mutual opposition of their excellencies and defects, to attempt the improvement of each, is the design of this essay.[1]

Like Young, whose Conjectures came out the same year as the Inquiry, Goldsmith is concerned with the stifling effect of too close an adherence to rules. "Goldsmith

abhorred the critic," Ralph M. Wardle tells us in his biography, "who judged English literature by Latin or Greek rules, or who sought knowledge in books rather than in life."[2] However, it was really rather neo-classic ideas imposed upon classic ideals, to which Goldsmith objected. In chapter one he wrote:

> They [the critics] now took upon them to teach poetry to those who wanted genius and the power of disputing to those who knew nothing of the subject in debate. It was observed how some of the most admired poets had copied nature. From these they collected dry rules, dignified with long names, and such were obtruded upon the public for their improvement. Common sense would be apt to suggest that the art might be studied to more advantage rather by imitation than precept . . . . Such rules are calculated to make blockheads talk but . . . are unable to give him (sic) feeling.[3]

The word 'feeling' here shows that some idea of the importance of feeling was in Goldsmith's mind and thoughts, but no special pre-romantic significance is attached to it. In Chapter IX Goldsmith again deplores the effect of rules, and this time he suggests 'feeling' as a criterion for judging aesthetic excellence:

> Of all this misfortunes, therefore, in the commonwealth of letters, this of judging from rule, and not from feeling, is the most severe. At such a tribunal no work of original merit can please.[4]

In what is now published as an appendix to the revised version Goldsmith gives his advice to authors:

> Write what you think, regardless of the critics. To persuade to this, was the chief design of this essay. To break, or at least to loosen those bonds, first put

> on by caprice, and afterwards drawn hard by fashion, is my wish. I have assumed the critic only to dissuade from criticism.[5]

Goldsmith blamed the critics for hindering originality:

> There never was an unbeaten path trodden by the poet that the critic did not endeavour to reclaim him, by calling his attempt innovation. This might be instanced in Dante, who first followed nature, and was persecuted by the critics as long as he lived. Thus novelty one of the greatest beauties in poetry, must be avoided, or the connoisseur be displeased. It is one of the chief privileges, however, of genius to fly from the herd of imitators by some happy singularity.[6]

Ronald S. Crane uses the above quotation in an article in the Philological Quarterly to enforce his claim that Goldsmith's plea for originality in writing has gone unnoticed by twentieth century critics.[7] It should be noted, however, that originality to Goldsmith was the portrayal of the 'ideal' as envisaged in classicism.

In spite of his outbursts against critics and their interpretations of the rules, Goldsmith was well aware that writers had not too frequently cited the rules as authoritative in literary criticism since very early in the century, when Granville wrote his Essay Upon Unnatural Flights in Poetry in 1701, Edward Bysshe his Art of English Poetry in 1702, and Gildon his Laws of Poetry in 1721. He knew, too, that most of the gifted men of letters, from the time of Dryden to that of Johnson, realized that obedience to the rules was no guarantee of literary merit. Nevertheless, when Joseph Warton writing in mid-century found it

necessary to complain of the "geometrical and systematic spirit so much in vogue, which has spread itself from the sciences even into polite literature,"[8] perhaps Goldsmith, and Young, too, felt it necessary to put into words their protest against rules.

To Goldsmith taste was of greater importance than rules as a standard by which to judge values. In the last chapter of the Enquiry he states:

> The man, the nation, must therefore be good whose chiefest luxuries consist in the refinement of reason; and reason can never be universally cultivated, unless guided by taste, which may be considered as the link between science and common sense, the medium through which learning should ever be seen by society. Taste will therefore often be a proper standard, when others fail, to judge of a nation's improvement or degeneracy in morals.[9]

Perhaps the most strongly expressed idea which Goldsmith puts forth in the Enquiry is the need for an historical view of aesthetic criticism, which is part of the theory of relativism which the school of Taste adapted as an aesthetic principle. Arthur Friedman tells us in an article in Modern Philology in 1946 that this critical principle, that works cannot be judged by universal standards because the models which authors imitate vary from age to age, though not a principle which finds frequent expression in the criticism of the sixth decade of the eighteenth century, is one which Goldsmith enforces in his criticisms of individual authors, as well as in the Enquiry.[10]

It is impossible, he points out, to determine the relative worth of the ancients and moderns, for the two have "copied from different originals, described the manners of different ages."[11] And not every age only, he tells us, but every country as well must have its own standard of taste:

> It cannot be expected that our works of taste, which imitate our peculiar manners, can please those that are unacquainted with the originals themselves. Though our descriptions and characters are drawn from nature, yet they may appear exaggerated, or faintly copied, to those who unacquainted with the peculiarities of our island, have no standard by which to make the comparison. Sir John Falstaff, with all the merry men of Eastcheap, are entirely of England, and please the English alone.[12]

Theories such as this, while still within the neo-classic tradition, mark Goldsmith as one of the more advanced exponents of that tradition. He goes on:

> I must own it as my opinion, that if criticism be at all requisite to promote the interests of learning, its rules should be taken from among the inhabitants, and adapted to the genius and temper of the country it attempts to refine . . . . In other words, every country should have a national system of criticism. In fact nothing can be more absurd than rules to direct the taste of one country drawn from the manners of another.[13]

Crane in the article already mentioned also draws attention to Goldsmith's plea for a relativistic theory of criticism. Besides having antipathy towards critics, Crane tells us, Goldsmith held a thoroughly relativistic theory of the relations which should exist between a poet and the peculiar manners of his nation and age.[14] It is true, Goldsmith writes, that

> this is setting up a particular standard of taste in every country; this is removing that universal one which has hitherto united the armies and enforced the commands of criticism; by this reasoning the critics of one country will not be proper guides to the writers of another; Grecian and Roman rules will not be generally binding in France or England; but the laws designed to improve our taste, by this reasoning, must be adapted to the genius of every people, as much as those enacted to promote morality.[15]

In promoting theories of relativistic standards for criticism, writers of the time had frequently called attention to the differences between the French and English stage, and Goldsmith, too, refers to the stage, in order to strengthen his argument.

> If ... the English be a people who look upon death as an incident no way terrible, but sometimes fly to it for refuge from the calamities of life, why should a Frenchman be disgusted at our bloody stage? There is nothing hideous in the representation to one of us, whatever there might be to him.[16]

The references in the Inquiry to features or ideas, which can, with any degree of definiteness, be said to be pre-romantic are very few and very slight. Goldsmith has in Chapter I one reference to external nature. He is beginning an examination of conditions which lead to the decline of poetry and he speaks first of the origin of poetry.

> Those who behold the phenomena of nature, and content themselves with the view, without enquiring into their causes, are perhaps wiser than is generally imagined. In this manner our rude ancestors were acquainted with facts; and poetry which helped the imagination and the memory was thought the most proper vehicle for conveying their knowledge to posterity.[17]

The relating of the beginnings of poetry to happenings in external nature, often intermixed with religious implications, was then and has always been a commonly held theory. The slight touch of pre-romanticism in it, is that those who "behold the phenomena of nature" should "content themselves with the view." Pleasure in the sights of external nature, though as we have shown earlier, occasionally found, was not too common in eighteenth century writings. Two other pre-romantic tendencies to be found in the Inquiry are: a mention of Celtic poetry, the Edda of Iceland and Irish carols, and Teutonic and Norwegian poetry[18]; and an interest in the rights and dignities of charity scholars in universities. The first reference is slight, but two of Goldsmith's biographers, Forster and Prior, assure us he was interested in the Celts, and the second reference, while arising, no doubt, out of his own purely self-centred memories of indignities he suffered while at the university in Dublin, is nonetheless a rather outspoken criticism for so class-conscious a period as that of England in 1759.

> The sons of our nobility are permitted to enjoy greater liberties in our universities than those of private men. I should blush to ask the men of learning and virtue, who preside in our seminaries, the reason of such a prejudicial distinction. Our youth should be inspired with a love of philosophy; and the first maxim among philosophers is, That merit only makes distinction.[19]

Of charity scholars waiting on table, and performing menial tasks he says: "It implies a contradicition, for men to be

at once learning the 'liberal' arts, and at the same time treated as 'slaves'."[20]

A corollary to the dedication, throughout both the classic and the neo-classic eras, to the primary and harmonious ideal, was an emphasis on clarity of expression. As early as 1667 we learn in the History of the Royal Society by Thomas Sprat, that the society was founded to divest English of "those spacious tropes and figures of imaginative writing, which result in only mists and uncertainties."[21] Addison, among other writers, had inveighed against various artificialities in writing, and in his own writings, had bequeathed to the world a wealth of lucid prose. Goldsmith, too, in the Enquiry, as in other writings, felt called upon to condemn "compound epithets."

> The solemnity worn by many of our modern writers is . . . often the mask of dulness . . . it were to be wished, therefore, that we no longer found pleasure with the inflated style . . . . We should now dispense with loaded epithet, and dressing up trifles with dignity.[22]

And a little later we find: "Let us, instead of writing finely, try to write naturally."[23] Goldsmith not only exhorted others to write naturally and simply, but he, himself, as we shall see in the rest of this chapter, and in succeeding chapters, exemplified in his own writings, a clarity of style and an ease of expression, which mark him, as Frederick W. Hilles says, as one of the masters of English prose. "To know him through his more famous works only,"

says Hilles, "is to do him an injustice."[24]

In the remaining part of this chapter, before we turn, in the next, to Goldsmith's essays, and his Citizen of the World, we shall examine some of the reviews Goldsmith wrote for various magazines, in order to see if in them we can find any tendencies which were to be found in the later neo-classic or the pre-romantic period.

Goldsmith approached his task as a reviewer seriously, and not merely as one who approved or disapproved as required. Not only did he show no slavish allegiance to any system, but as well, he had definite ideas of what constituted good writing. His criticisms show common sense, good taste, and hearty approval of originality.

Reviewing R. Kedington's Critical Dissertations on the "Iliad" of Homer Goldsmith pleads for epic poets to give up "this practice imposed by critics, of taking Homer, or Virgil, or any other celebrated name for a model," and instead "boldly to follow nature in the dress she wears at present . . . . In short," Goldsmith concludes, "we could wish to excite men to leave those paths, which have been already too much worn, and to strike out after nature, which is ever appearing in circumstances of variety."[25] The neo-classic writers wished, indeed, to copy nature, but Goldsmith seems to be aware of some new force making itself felt within writers and readers, which desired, if not demanded

'variety'. We have already seen how he praised poets who dared to deviate from "the beaten path." The opinions which Goldsmith expressed in this review, written in 1760, that literary imitation is to be avoided and that originality in writing is to be sought, are, Ronald S. Crane informs us, opinions held only by the most advanced critics of the 1770's.[26]

In an article in Modern Philology[27] in 1946, Arthur Friedman discusses several contributions made by Goldsmith to the Critical Review. Again in these reviews we find Goldsmith praising originality and showing hostility to critics and to the rules. In showing this predilection for originality, Goldsmith was not merely joining in the "famous and rather chaotic critical war between the Ancients and the Moderns."[28] In this 'war' both sides felt that rules were necessary, and that to imitate nature was to imitate the classic writers. The Moderns felt, "not that the Ancients were too bound by rules, but that they were not correct enough in their observance of them."[29] Goldsmith, however, wanted writers to strike out for themselves, and to be independent of rules, critics, or ancients. In reviewing Barret's Translation of Ovid's "Epistles", in reviewing the Dramatic Works of Mr. Philip Massinger, in reviewing William Hawkin's Miscellanies, and in reviewing Ward's A System of Eloquence, Goldsmith again complained of the dulling effect of obedience to the

rules, and in discussing Massinger, he suggested again that an historical view of literature was needed. Goldsmith's strongest protest against the rules for literary composition appeared in his review of Home's Douglas--a tragedy.

> A mechanically exact adherence to all the rules of the drama is more the business of industry than of genius. Theatrical lawgivers rather teach the ignorant where to censure, than the poet how to write. If sublimity, sentiment, and passion, give warmth and life and expression to the whole, we can more easily dispense with the rules of the Stagyrite; but if languor, affectation, and the false sublime, are substituted for these, an observance of all the precepts of the ancients will prove but a poor compensation.[30]

In his review of Kedington, Goldsmith gave advice to authors. In this we find that Goldsmith felt that an author should appeal to the imagination, the fancy, and the passions.

> An English dramatic author instead of consulting the judgment, must appeal to the imagination, the fancy, and the passions of his hearers. Instead of moralizing in dull apothegms, he must rouze, elevate, surprize, and tickle, with rage, declamation, wit, and humour.[31]

A suggestion by a critic that an author should appeal to the imagination, and the fancy, and the passions, is certainly not to be found too frequently in neo-classic criticism. It seems to be almost pre-romantic.

In his review of Gray's Odes, Goldsmith chastises Gray for copying Pindar, instead of being original, and he suggests that Gray should 'Study the People'.[32]

> We cannot, however, without some regret behold those talents so capable of giving pleasure to all, exerted in efforts that, at best, can amuse only the few; we cannot behold this rising poet seeking fame among the learned, without hinting to him the same advice that

> Isocrates used to give his scholars, 'study the people'. Pindar, himself, of whom our modern lyrist is an imitator, appears entirely guided by it. He adapted his works exactly to the dispositions of his countrymen . . . . He chose the most popular subjects, and all his allusions are to customs well known, in his days, to the meanest person. . . . His English imitator wants those advantages.[33]

This is once again the plea for a relativistic, and an historic view of literature. Goldsmith enforces it with a plea for originality.

> It is by no means our design to detract from the merit of our author's present attempt: we would only intimate that an English poet, one whom the Muse has 'marked for her own', could produce a more luxuriant bloom of flowers, by cultivating such as are natives of the soil, than by endeavouring to force the exotics of another climate; or to speak without a metaphor, such a genius as Mr. Gray might give greater pleasure and acquire a larger portion of fame, if, instead of being an imitator, he did justice to his talents and ventured to be more an original.[34]

The final review we shall speak of in Goldsmith's review of Mallet's French version of the Edda. This review, which appeared in April 1757 in the Monthly Review, was signed 'D', but it has generally been ascribed to Goldsmith. In an article in Modern Language Notes[35] in 1930, Caroline F. Tupper concludes that the ascription to Goldsmith is fairly accurate. Goldsmith, as we have previously noted, was interested in the Celts, with which Mallet's version of the Edda deals. Two-thirds of the review is devoted to Celtic fables, and Goldsmith's comments reveal his interest. An interest in the folk-lore, and poetry of early peoples is one of the tendencies to be found in pre-romantic writing.

Goldsmith suggests in his review that we should study the Celts as much as we do the Latins and the Greeks.

As we proceed through Goldsmith's works, we shall see that the pre-romantic features tend to increase.

CHAPTER III

THE ESSAYS

For the sake of convenience Goldsmith's essays may be considered in the three groups in which they were afterwards collected and published, _The Citizen of the World_, _the Bee,_ and the collected _Essays_. _The Citizen of the World_ was the name given in 1762, when they were published collectively, to a series of essays which had appeared originally in 1760 and 1761 in the _Public Ledger_, under the name, Chinese Letters. _The Bee_ was a small periodical, of which Goldsmith was the editor and chief critic. It contained essays, reviews, allegories and bits of verse. The individual essays had appeared in the _Public Ledger_, in the _Busybody_, in the _Lady's Magazine_, and in other publications. Many of Goldsmith's essays which had first appeared anonymously were published in a collected edition under Goldsmith's name in 1765, and these are usually published now as his 'collected Essays' along with a number of essays which were unacknowledged by Goldsmith during his lifetime. Much recent research has been devoted to adding to the Goldsmith canon any pieces which can with some degree of certainty be ascribed to Goldsmith, and to dropping from it those pieces which bear little evidence of Goldsmith's hand. Ronald S. Crane and Arthur Friedman, to whom we shall be again referring,

have been especially diligent in this work.

In the present chapter we shall examine first the Chinese Letters, or The Citizen of the World. The vogue for China and all things Chinese was one of the outward manifestations that a change was taking place within neo-classicism. Interest in China, fostered by tales brought back by travellers, missionaries, and traders, had been of long, slow growth. Such interest tended to draw attention away from the straight lines of Palladian architecture, so popular during most of the eighteenth century, and so much in keeping with the restraint, balance, and decorum of neo-classicism, and to attract it to the curves and irregularities of Chinese art. The vogue eventually became so popular that it was carried to excess. Every lady had her Chinese room decorated with chintz and crowded with Chinese ornaments, jars, and japanned ware. While Goldsmith took advantage of this vogue to create his Chinese letters, he was too sensible not to see the foolish excesses to which it was carried and in the letters he satirizes these excesses.

The letters of The Citizen of the World, one hundred and twenty-three in number, are purportedly written by a Chinese philosopher, visiting in London, to his friend in China. Many authors before Goldsmith had used the device of a foreign observer to describe European customs as seen

through the eyes of an Oriental, but by far the best of the genre was Goldsmith's Chinese Letters. Using a loosely-knit and desultory story to give some semblance of unity to his letters, Goldsmith comments on such varied aspects of life in eighteenth century London as women's fashions, justice, newspapers, the book-trade, marriage laws, social conditions, and funeral customs. He displays skill with the epistolary form, and, with quaint, amusing detail and quirks of style, keeps up the illusion of the Chinese critic, bewildered and sometimes ill-at-ease in a foreign land. The Chinese critic is, moreover, not merely an automaton to voice the ideas of his creator; he becomes a character who wins the readers' interest in himself. In many of the letters the Chinese philosopher seems to be a humanist, detached and tolerant, commenting on conditions he sees, and frequently satirizing those conditions. Yet, at times, his views or those of his author expressed through him reveal an interest in conditions which were of prime importance to pre-romantic authors.

To make attacks on wrongs in the established order of political, economic, social, and educational conditions was no new departure in writing. Yet it was the cumulative effect of many such attacks during the eighteenth century, particularly in the latter part of it, which helped to change men's thinking about the dignity of man, and which, aided by the French Revolution, itself a manifestation of changing

ideas, helped to set the stage for conditions which eventually led to romanticism. In a small way, Goldsmith added to these attacks on wrongs in the established order.

Goldsmith opens Letter LXXII with an attack on social and economic conditions contained in a paragraph devoted to a tinker

> who has educated seven sons, all at this very time in arms, and fighting for their country; and what reward do you think has the tinker from the state for such important services? None in the world. His sons, when the war is over, may probably be whipped from parish to parish as vagabonds, and the old man when past labour, may die a prisoner in some house of correction.[1]

Goldsmith uses this introduction to lead his Chinese philosopher on to speak of the lack of encouragement given to a man to raise a family or even to marry, and eventually he discusses dowry laws and the poor distribution of wealth. These ideas were important to Goldsmith at this time for in letter CXIV he again discusses wealth and marriage contracts. The thought of the sons of the tinker, however, remained with Goldsmith and he devoted the whole of letter CXIX to the miseries of the poor, and particularly to the injustices done to soldiers and sailors.

In letter CXIX the Chinese philosopher, at first, ponders the sufferings and misfortunes of the poor. Their hardships are ignored, says Goldsmith through his philosophical observer, and

> many are obliged to wander, without a friend to comfort or to assist them, find enmity in every law, and are too poor to obtain even justice.[2]

Goldsmith, then, enforces his point by telling the story of a poor soldier, going about on a wooden leg and begging his bread from door to door. After touching briefly on life in a workhouse, conditions on a deportation ship, where hundreds were "confined in the hold, and died very fast for want of sweet air and provisions,"[3] the injustices caused by "press gang" recruiting, and the ill treatment meted out to soldiers and sailors, Goldsmith ends the tale in a philosophic vein. It is unnecessary for him to belabour his point; he has already shown clearly enough the wrongs he wished to depict.

Another wrong in the established order is revealed in letter XC, when Goldsmith holds up to scorn the class of men known as "thief-takers." These scoundrels "pretended friendship to wretches they meant to betray,"[4] sent them out to rob and then informed upon them for a reward. "I read over," says the Man in Black, one of the characters created by Goldsmith in the Citizen of the World, "the many hideous cruelties of those haters of mankind, . . . of their sending men out to rob, and then hanging them."[5] The Man in Black can scarce believe that such creatures who live and are enriched by the price of blood are men, whom he should call "brothers". Goldsmith here is condemning men who stoop to such practices, rather than the system which permits the practices; but if the system of laws and legal

procedure had not tolerated such actions, nor accepted the services of thief-takers, then the class of men known as thief-takers would not have existed.

Although Goldsmith spoke of some English laws as unjust, on the whole he felt that English laws were fair and impartial. He refers in several letters to their impartiality, and he finds the justice meted out by English laws and the liberty enjoyed by living under English laws more attractive than the justice or liberty to be found in other European countries. At the same time Goldsmith realized that the poorer classes suffered unduly under the laws. In letter IV he contrives to make a double thrust, one at social conditions, one at the lack of freedom of the poor. A debtor in prison, a porter carrying "burthens", and a poor soldier, each in his own way a wretch to be pitied, discuss English liberty, and consider themselves fortunate to live in England where they can enjoy such untrammeled freedom.

In letter XXXVIII, however, once more discussing English laws, and comparing them with the laws of other countries, Goldsmith finds English laws superior. He has been led into this commonplace train of thought, says Goldsmith through his Chinese philosopher,

> by a late striking instance in this country of the impartiality of justice, and of the king's inflexible resolution of inflicting punishment where it is justly

> due. A man of first quality in a fit of either passion, melancholy, or madness, murdered his servant: it was expected that his station in life would have lessened the ignominy of his punishment; however, he was arraigned, condemned, and underwent the same degrading death with the meanest malefactor.[6]

Goldsmith, then, compares this case with a similar case in France "where the great are often most scandalously pardoned for the most scandalous offences."[7] A "person" of royal blood was, because of his high station in life, three times pardoned after committing three separate murders. The papers of both London and Paris had been full of the case at the time Goldsmith wrote, and thus Goldsmith added his voice to the storm of protest against such injustice. Whether or not Goldsmith felt that such unjust conditions in France would inevitably bring about a revolution, we cannot say.

W. Roberts, however, writing in the Times Literary Supplement in 1933, claimed that Goldsmith, with his knowledge of France, his study of the French government, and of French writings pertaining to it and to conditions in France, foretold in letter LVI, the coming of the French revolution.[8]

> The French, on the other hand are imperceptibly vindicating themselves into freedom. When I consider that those parliaments (the members of which are all created by the court, the presidents of which can act only by immediate direction) presume even to mention privileges and freedom, who, till of late, received directions from the throne with implicit humility; when this is considered I cannot help fancying that the genius of freedom has entered that kingdom in disguise. If they have but three weak monarchs more successively on the throne . . . the country will certainly once more be free.[9]

All consideration of a prediction aside, the interest Goldsmith is displaying here in political rights and freedom, is in keeping with the interest displayed in such reforms by other writers both neo-classic and pre-romantic. In France, Rousseau and Diderot with whose writings Goldsmith was familiar and Montesquieu whose Lettres Persannes (1721) influenced Goldsmith, attacked the government and demanded political reform, while in England Lord Lyttleton, Horace Walpole and David Hume, all of whom exerted some influence upon Goldsmith, were interested in and writing about political rights and freedom.

The multiplicity of the laws, and the inflicting of the punishment of death for stealing, also alarmed Goldsmith. In letter LXXX, he warns:

> Penal laws secure property in a state, but they also diminish personal security in the same proportion. When a law enacted to make theft punishable with death happens to be equitably executed, it can at best only guard our possessions; but when, by favour or ignorance, justice pronounces a wrong verdict, it then attacks our lives, since, in such a case the whole community suffers with the innocent victim: if, therefore, in order to secure the effects of one man, I should make a law which should take away the life of another, in such a case, to attain a smaller good, I am guilty of a greater evil; to secure society in the possession of a bauble, I render a real and valuable possession precarious.[10]

Like Dickens in the following century, Goldsmith, as we shall see in the next chapter, was conscious also of the wrongs and malpractices connected with debtor's prisons, and of the miseries suffered by the poor wretches confined within their

walls. Mercenary and corrupt magistrates, too, attracted his attention, and he concludes letter LXXX by urging that justice be in the hands, not of corrupt magistrates, but of those who know how to administer it properly.

Goldsmith also attacked wrongs in the order of preferment within the established church, and he deplored the harm inflicted on a parish by a priest who never visited his parish or presided over a service. The complaints in letter XLI of the indifference shown towards religion, by a congregation interested only in displaying its finery, and of the absenteeism of priests, reminds one somewhat of like complaints made by Chaucer in his Canterbury Tales. In letter LVIII, along with the Chinese philosopher, we are conducted by the Man in Black, to a visitation dinner, where we learn more about the defects of the clergy. The visitation dinner, says Goldsmith, was a device instituted to save bishops the trouble of carrying out their duties of inspecting the various priests, parishes, and congregations under their jurisdiction. At the dinner, we discover that not one man is interested in religion, or in carrying out his duties, or even in discussing topics of wisdom; all are interested only in the variety, and the quantity, and the quality of the food served. Goldsmith, in revealing with such scorn the follies and defects of some members of the clergy without doubt knew whereof he spoke, for he came of a clerical family, and he

honoured those members of the clergy, who like his father, his uncle and his brother, carried out, even as Chaucer's Poor Parson, their duties in their small parishes, solemnly and cheerfully.

Of concern to Goldsmith, also, was the dignity of a human being. In letter C, while praising generosity as a virtue, Goldsmith warns of the indignity forced upon the recipient by having to depend on the generosity of a benefactor.

> By every favour we accept we in some measure forfeit our native freedom, and a state of continual dependence on the generosity of others is a life of gradual debasement . . . . Every favour a man receives in some measure sinks him below his dignity.[11]

In letter CXVIII the subject is again the dignity of man. Goldsmith holds up to scorn the indignities which the Dutch traders are willing to suffer in order to gain trade in Japan. "Men must be excessively fond of riches," opines Goldsmith, "when they are earned with such circumstances of abject submission."[12]

Letter CXVII, which had previously appeared in The Bee, under the title "A City Night Piece," and which, Goldsmith felt, was of sufficient interest and importance to be included in the Citizen of the World in its collected form, describes the sufferings of the poor, as they are viewed in the dead of night. All are at rest, but "guilt, revelry, and despair."[13] At such an hour, too, there is brought home to the observer,

with greater force, evidences of the mutability and transitoriness of life. Goldsmith ponders these ideas, as Gray, Young and other pre-romantic writers of the time were doing. His attention is caught by the sufferings of those forced to sleep in the streets, orphans, wanderers, discarded mistresses, diseased and naked. "Why, why," mourns Goldsmith, "was I born a man, and yet see the sufferings of wretches I cannot relieve."[14] Pity for such sufferings and "faith in the high moral value of benevolence and sympathy" were characteristic of pre-romantic writers. Lois Whitney tells us that there was in the eighteenth century widespread recognition of benevolence as one of the laws of nature,[15] and she names novels of the time, such as The Triumph of Benevolence (four volumes) and Traits of the Time (five volumes) which extoll benevolence. Divines made benevolence the subject of their sermons. William Gould preached on The Generosity of Christian Love,[16] while William Colnett in 1711 published a sermon on "pity, compassion and a fellow feeling."[17] Benevolence and sympathy are also praised in Richard Cumberland's A Philosophical Enquiry into the Laws of Nature[18] and correspondents to the Edinburgh Magazine I 1785[19] and the London Magazine enlarged II 1784[20] add their voices to the paean of praise for benevolence.

The acts of charity of the Man in Black, and the description of his character given by Goldsmith, show how

deeply Goldsmith felt that sympathy, generosity, and benevolence were morally valuable. The Man in Black, on an excursion to the country, described in letter XXVI, cannot pass a beggar without relieving his distress, and, in the next letter, when we hear the story of his life, we realize that his benevolence is the result of his upbringing. Although the Man in Black now claims that he is hard-hearted and impervious to suffering, his actions prove that this is not true. Through the description the Man in Black gives of his father, as much as through the description of Dr. Primrose in The Vicar of Wakefield, we catch glimpses of Goldsmith's own father, in whom sympathy and benevolence were united with faith in the instinctive goodness of human beings. His father, the Man in Black tells us,

> was possessed of a small living in the church. His education was above his fortune and his generosity greater than his education. Poor as he was, he had his flatterers still poorer who for every dinner he gave them, returned him an equivalent in praise. This was all he wanted; the same ambition for glory that actuates a monarch at the head of an army influenced my father at the head of his table: he told the story of the ivy-tree, and that was laughed at; he repeated the jest of the two scholars and one pair of breeches, and they laughed at that; thus his pleasure increased in proportion to that he gave; he loved all the world, and all the world pretended to love him.[21]

The father of the Man in Black undertook himself the instruction of his children and he took, the Man in Black tells us,

> as much pains in forming our morals as improving our understanding. We were told that universal benevolence was the first law of nature; we were taught to consider all the wants of mankind as our own; to regard the 'human face divine' with affection and esteem; he wound us up to be mere machines of pity, incapable of withstanding the slightest impulse made upon us either by real or fictitious distress; and we were perfectly versed in the art of 'giving away' thousands, before we were taught the more necessary qualifications of 'getting' sixpence.[22]

The last few lines of this quotation show us Goldsmith's own character and personality peeping through the character of the Man in Black. In many of the letters in The Citizen of the World, Goldsmith reveals himself to us, now through the Man in Black, learning to play the German flute, an instrument on which Goldsmith himself was proficient, again through the Chinese philosopher, being brushed aside in his attempt to speak, and beaten back with confusion, at a dinner to which he was invited to meet a "great man," and at which he finds "the venison fine, the turtle good, but the great man insupportable."[23] The description in letter LXXVII of the visit made by the Chinese philosopher to a silk shop to buy silk for a night cap must have been drawn from Goldsmith's own experiences. Determined to buy silk sufficient only for a night cap, the Chinese philosopher is persuaded to buy silk for a waistcoat and a morning coat as well. Goldsmith's biographers all mention his love of finery and his extravagance and, likely, many a time he had been persuaded to buy more than he originally

intended. When the philosopher, speaking of travelling through France, describes to us the wayside shrines, before which "a lamp is often kept burning, at which, with the saint's permission, I have frequently lighted my pipe,"[24] we see not the Chinese critic, but Goldsmith himself on his travels through Europe, and when the philosopher's landlady rushes into his room, to tell him the story of the mad dog, and again, when she "shoves" him up two storeys "as mere lumber"[25] to make room for two other paying guests, we cannot but think that these things happened to Goldsmith himself. Goldsmith's revelation of so much of his own personality through his writings is indicative of a change in the method of essay writing, from that practised earlier in the century by Addison, who always remains aloof from his essays and seems, at all times, to be only a disinterested spectator. Addison's essays are polished and gently ironic; he creates characters with delightful touches of reality--Sir Roger de Coverley nodding off to sleep in church, for example--but his characters never achieve the warmth of personality found in the Man in Black, and in Beau Tibbs, another character from The Citizen of the World.

Frederick W. Hilles compares Beau Tibbs to a Dickens character:

> There is much that is Dickensian about the odd characters that move in and out of Goldsmith's pages. At times the likenesses are striking. When, for example, we hear

> Beau Tibbs say, "You shall know,--but let it go no further,--a great secret--five hundred a year to begin with.--My Lord's word of honour for it--," the voice sounds strangely like the voice of Mr. Jingle.[26]

Hilles feels, moreover, that Goldsmith has furthered the development of the essay in English. "As an essayist, Goldsmith ranks with the best that England has produced"[27] claims Hilles, and he adds:

> In the development of the genre as well as in chronology they [Goldsmith's essays] stand halfway between the polished Augustinianism of Mr. Spectator at the beginning of the eighteenth century and the more sentimental personalized vehicle developed by Hazlitt and Lamb at the beginning of the nineteenth.[28]

Although Goldsmith, unlike Addison and his collaborator Steele, who never reveal their own personalities through their essays, allows his thoughts and his personality to appear throughout his essays, he does not become so personal as Lamb and Hazlitt, who delight in revealing not only their feelings, but even such details as a minute account of what they ate for breakfast. Goldsmith's essays have, however, marked a pleasant plateau, in the movement or advancement in the art of essay writing from the Augustinian towards the Romantic type of essay.

Before we have completed this chapter, we still have to consider The Bee and Goldsmith's collected Essays. The Bee, a short-lived weekly periodical, lasted for only eight numbers. In the first essay in the fourth number of The Bee, Goldsmith, realizing the magazine was finding little favour

with the public, avails himself of his editorial privilege to address his readers directly, requesting their interest, and beyond them, to send his plea to posterity, by whom he hopes to be remembered with respect. Thus we find, in 1759, Goldsmith's hopes, ambitions, and small vanities, revealing themselves through his writings.

Another essay in the same number of The Bee deals with the story connected with a Flemish tradition. An interest in traditions among the poorer classes, and in their folk-lore and ballads, is one of the features of pre-romantic writers, and Goldsmith constantly displays interest in these things. He opens his essay on "A Flemish Tradition" by referring to traditions to be found in other countries, among which traditions he numbers "the adventures of Robin Hood, the hunting of Chevy Chase, and the bravery of Johnny Armstrong, among the English; of Kaul Dereg, among the Irish; and Creichton, among the Scots."[29] Folk-lore, in general, and ballads, in particular, always attracted Goldsmith's attention. In the second number of The Bee he had mentioned his preference for the old ballads, Barbara Ellen, and Johnny Armstrong's Last Goodnight, over the operatic presentations, being offered in the theatres of eighteenth century London, and we shall find this interest in ballads appearing in the next chapter also, when we speak of Goldsmith's novel, and of ballads which he, himself, composed.

In the fourth number of The Bee, also, appeared the essay called "The Characteristics of Greatness." This essay, which praises the writer who strikes out on his own, instead of imitating the ancients, is quoted by Ronald S. Crane in his article detailing the number of times Goldsmith pleads for originality in writing.[30] Goldsmith states:

> Yet this is certain that the writer who never deviates, who never hazards a new thought, or a new expression, though his friends may compliment him upon his sagacity, though criticism lifts her feeble voice in his praise, will seldom arrive at any degree of perfection . . . . An author who would be sublime, often runs his thought into burlesque: yet I can readily pardon his mistaking ten times for once succeeding[31]

and Goldsmith concludes his essay with "the great mind will be bravely eccentric, and scorn the beaten road."[32] Crane called his article about Goldsmith's repeated pleas for originality in writing "A Neglected Mid-Eighteenth Century Plea for Originality," and there seems to be some justification for the word 'neglected', when we think of how often, critics, since that time, have referred to the same plea in Young's Conjectures, and how seldom they have taken note of it in Goldsmith's writings.

The fifth number of The Bee contained an essay on political economy, entitled "Upon Political Frugality," in which Goldsmith speaks of the woes of the poor, and of the evils caused by the vast number of public houses, and ends with the very modern suggestion, that the government should set up a society to study the science of economy, in order

to benefit the whole nation. In making a suggestion for reform, which would carry humanitarian benefits to all classes, Goldsmith is in line with Edmund Burke,[33] and David Hume.[34] At that time also, pre-romantic writers like Thomas Paine[35] and later William Godwin[36] and Mary Wollstonecraft[37] were demanding political and economic reforms, but Goldsmith's suggestion that the government should set up an agency to study the best methods of achieving reforms, seems to be more forward-looking than those of many of his contemporaries.

In The Bee, No. V, we find, also, the delightful Reverie, in which Johnson is allowed a seat on the Fame Machine, because of his Rambler, but Arthur Murphy is refused one, and bidden, instead, to "Follow Nature." Goldsmith's idea of nature was not confined solely to the neo-classic idea of a harmonious ideal, divested of all individuality and peculiarities, for, in the very next article in the same number of The Bee, he reviews the farce, "High Life Below Stairs," and in this review, he voices disapproval of the rules for writing, and of too close an imitation of the neo-classic ideal of nature.

> From a conformity to critic rules, which perhaps on the whole have done more harm than good our author has sacrificed all the vivacity of the dialogue to nature; and though he makes his characters talk like servants, they are seldom absurd enough, or lively enough, to make us merry. Though he is always natural, he happens seldom to be humorous.[38]

Goldsmith devotes the whole of the first essay in the

sixth number of The Bee to his views on education, many of which are surprisingly modern. He claims that many schoolmasters, who set up private schools, are ill-qualified for the task.

> Is any man unfit for any of the professions? he finds his last resource in setting up school. Do any become bankrupts? they still set up a boarding school, and drive a trade this way, when all others fail: nay, I have been told of butchers and barbers who have turned schoolmasters.[39]

To place the education of children, who will one day be expected to take their place in the world, in the hands of such incompetents, is, Goldsmith avers, foolish in the extreme. He would "dismiss those utterly unqualified for their employment,"[40] and he would "make the business of a schoolmaster everyway more respectable, by increasing their salaries and admitting only men of proper abilities."[41] Furthermore, Goldsmith would make the state responsible for overseeing the qualifications of the instructors. Other writers, such as Mandeville with his essay on schools, had been concerned with educating the poorer classes of people, rather than with the quality of the education offered, while still others, such as Kames in his Loose Hints upon Education (Edinburgh 1781) Elizabeth Hamilton with her Letters on the Elementary Principles of Education (1825) and Mrs. Inchbald in her novel, Nature and Art (1796) follow more or less in the wake of Rousseau. Now that universal education has been virtually achieved in Europe and America,

we are concerned with the things Goldsmith was advocating in 1759. Goldsmith had sensible things to say also, of the learning children get from contact with one another, of the books which should be given them, and of the things they should be taught. They should see the wonders of nature, see experiments upon the rarefaction and weight of the air, study magnetism, and electricity, and be led to marvel at and wonder about, these things, and only later in university should they be taught to account for the wonders of all these phenomena, and of the experiments they had viewed as youths. History should be presented, not as a dull, dry subject, but with stories which catch the imagination and lead a boy to further study and inquiry. Many of the ideas here expressed would meet with the approval of modern pedagogues, and this final one sounds like a compromise drawn from a modern psychologist, for while Goldsmith does not believe in sparing the rod, he insists that punishment be administered with "tenderness" and without "passion."

Arthur Friedman,[42] who as we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter has spend much time in determing which anonymous reviews and essays, in the magazines to which it is known Goldsmith contributed, are actually by Goldsmith, quotes an excerpt from the essay on "Eloquence," in the seventh number of <u>The Bee</u>, as a mark of internal evidence found in a similar form, and in similar words in the review of Ward's

A System of Oratory, which because of the above evidence, and because of other cogent reasons, Friedman attributes to Goldsmith. "Thus we see, eloquence is born with us before the rules of rhetoric," says the reviewer, "as languages have been formed before the rules of grammar," while in The Bee Goldsmith writes: "Eloquence has preceded the rules of rhetoric, as languages have been formed before grammar."[43] Both writers condemn a blind following of rules, and Goldsmith, in the essay suggests,

> Eloquence is more improved by the perusal of great masters, from whose excellencies rules have afterwards been formed, than by an attendance on the lectures of such, who pretend to teach the art by rule, more by imitation than by precept.[44]

In the account he gives of the Augustan Age of England, Goldsmith once more criticizes the rules; this time, it is the rules for writing, he attacks, and the poets, too, who write didactic poems, expressing such rules. Of contemporary writers, Goldsmith remarks,

> The poet, either dryly didactive, gives us rules which might appear abstruse even in a system of ethics, or triflingly volatile, writes upon the most unworthy subjects, ... content if he can paint to the imagination, without any desire or endeavour to affect.[45]

The last few words, here, are surely noteworthy, for we tend to think at present of the affecting or stirring of the imagination, as the peculiar property of romantic writers.

In the group of Goldsmith's writings known simply as the

"Essays," only a few are of concern to us. Bernbaum, in his book, "The Guide through the Romantic Movement," mentions Maurice Morgann's "Essay on The Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff," written in 1777, as a pre-romantic work, because Morgann treats Falstaff as a vital human being, not as an artificial contrivance of Shakespeare's imagination, nor as a mechanical puppet. Rene Wellek also takes note of Morgann's criticism of Sir John as a complete and rounded character, not merely as a coward and braggart, and he states further: "Though it seems difficult to prove direct influence Morgann anticipates the methods of Lamb, Coleridge and Hazlitt."[46] Goldsmith, although he did not analyze Falstaff's character, did, in 1759, day dream about Falstaff much in the manner of musing later indulged in by Hazlitt and Lamb. In "A Reverie at the Boar's Head Tavern, Eastcheap," we read:

> The character of old Falstaff, even with all his faults, gives me more consolation than the most studied efforts of wisdom; I here behold an agreeable old fellow forgetting age, and showing me the way to be young at sixty-five.[47]

Sitting in the tavern, and ruminating on the follies of youth, on Sir John, and all the merry men of Eastcheap, Goldsmith drifts into a sort of waking dream. "I considered myself as the only living representative of the old knight, and transported my imagination back to the times when the Prince and he gave life to the revel."[48] When Goldsmith,

in such a way, identifies himself with Sir John, he must have considered him a flesh-and-blood man, and no mere puppet.

Some editors[49] feel that the essays on Taste, Poetry, Metaphor, Hyperbole, and Versification, are not by Goldsmith, and they may eventually have to be dropped from the Goldsmith canon, but they are usually included in the complete editions of his works,[50] and one or two of the ideas expressed are similar to ideas expressed elsewhere by Goldsmith. "Nothing has been so often explained and yet so little understood," claims the author in the essay on 'Taste', "as simplicity in writing."[51] Goldsmith would have been in complete agreement with this sentiment.

> A clear blue sky, spangled with stars, continues the author a few paragraphs later, will prove an insipid object to eyes accustomed to the glare of torches and tapers . . . . Those ears that are offended by the notes of the thrush, the blackbird and the nightingale, will be regaled and ravished by the squeaking fiddle.[52]

Again Goldsmith would likely have agreed, for the Chinese philosopher, in letter XCV, if we may be allowed to refer momentarily to The Citizen of the World, had commended pleasure in nature as the mark of wisdom,

> To the wise man every climate and every soil is pleasing; a parterre of flowers is the famous valley of gold; to him a little brook the fountain of the young peach trees; to such a man the melody of the birds is more ravishing than the harmony of a full concert; and the tincture of a cloud preferable to the touch of the finest pencil.[53]

Two further essays, only, claim our attention at present, the essay on the "Schools of Music," which contains

a slight reference to Celtic carols and Scottish ballads, and "Carolan, the Irish Bard," which relates several stories about the old poet and singer. Both essays attest to Goldsmith's interest in folk-lore, in folk poetry, and in ballads.

Two essays, also, we are leaving to discuss in later chapters: the essay on "Sentimental Comedy" in the chapter devoted to Goldsmith's plays, and a new essay entitled "The Deserted Village in Prose," and attributed to Goldsmith by Ronald S. Crane, in the chapter on Goldsmith's poems.

Now let us turn to his novel.

CHAPTER IV

THE NOVEL

One morning late in 1762, when Johnson learned that Goldsmith was in distress and arrested by his landlady for his rent, he sent Goldsmith a guinea, (quickly changed by Goldsmith into a bottle of Madeira) and visited him, to discover that Goldsmith had written a novel, which was ready for the press. Johnson sold the novel, The Vicar of Wakefield, to Newbery for sixty pounds, but not until 1766, when the author's reputation was firmly established through the publication of The Traveller, was the novel published. When the book appeared Richardson and Fielding were already dead, Smollett was nearing the end of his work, but Humphrey Clinker was still to be written, Walpole's Castle of Otranto had appeared two years earlier, and Sterne's Tristram Shandy was finding wide acceptance, while Mackenzie's Man of Feeling, almost the culmination of the sentimental novel was not to appear until 1771. The popularity of the sentimental novel was well established and not yet diminishing, and novels of adventure, such as Smollett had written, and Gothic novels, and novels of horror, typified by Walpole's Castle of Otranto, were finding acclaim. In the midst of this varied fare, Goldsmith's work, at first found little success. It aroused almost no criticism, favourable or unfavourable, and only

gradually did its gentle artlessness and charm make itself felt. Yet by the nineteenth century writers of the romantic movement were out-doing themselves in "praise of the charming simplicity of the novel, and its idyllic picture of human nature in the character of the Vicar,"[1] and this fact alone would be almost sufficient justification for Ernest Bernbaum's placing The Vicar of Wakefield among works which contributed to the rise of romanticism.

Although we shall single out such pre-romantic features in the book as interest in ballads, and attacks on wrongs in the established order, it is not upon these features alone that the pre-romantic tendencies of the novel rest. The entire nature of the book, typified in the person of the Vicar, the most dominant character in the novel, evinces faith in the instinctive goodness of human beings. This faith, it is true, makes the Vicar an easy mark for the sharper, Jenkinson, but when Jenkinson reforms, and is instrumental in extricating the Vicar and his family from their misfortunes,[2] the faith is vindicated. All the guileless characters in the book have such faith, and they are the better for it. "I used often to laugh at your honest simple neighbour Flamborough" relates Jenkinson, recalling the number of times he had taken advantage of Flamborough's unquestioning trust in the goodness of all human creatures,

> and one way or another generally cheated him once a year. Yet still the honest man went forward without suspicion and grew rich, while I continued tricksy and cunning, and was poor without the consolation of being honest."[3]

Even the "execrations, lewdness, and brutality" of the prisoners in the gaol are not sufficient to cause the Vicar to lose faith in their instinctive goodness. Their insensibility merely rouses his compassion and he resolves to reclaim them.

> For be assured, my friends, [cries he, chastising their profanity] for you are my friends, however the world may disclaim your friendship, though you swore twelve thousand oaths in a day, it would not put one penny in your purse."[4]

Upon concluding his talk, the Vicar, hopeful because of signs of a reformation among the prisoners, resolves to continue his sermons to them. "For it had ever been my opinion," [says he] "that no man was past the hour of amendment, every heart lying open to the shafts of reproof if the archer could but take a proper aim."[5] When his wife and children try to dissuade the Vicar from his resolve, he answers them with: "Excuse me, these people, however fallen, are still men, and that is a very good title to my affections."[6] In a surprisingly short time the Vicar is able to effect a reformation among the prisoners, and to set about instituting a system of employment, whereby each prisoner is enabled, not only to earn enough to maintain himself, but as well, to regain some self-respect for himself as a man.

And, not faith in the instinctive goodness of human beings alone, but also faith in the high moral value of

sympathy and benevolence, is triumphant throughout the book. While the family was still in affluent circumstances the Vicar was able to say:

> The year was spent in moral or rural amusements, in visiting our rich neighbours, and in relieving such as were poor. As we lived near the road, we often had the traveller or stranger come to taste our gooseberry wine, for which we had great reputation, [and] literally speaking we had the blind, the maimed, and the halt amongst the number.[7]

His children were all brought up to be hospitable and to have faith in their fellow creatures, for "properly speaking they had but one character, that of being all equally generous, credulous, simple, and inoffensive."[8] The Vicar is first drawn to Mr. Burchell, when, overhearing the landlady of the inn berating Burchell for want of money, he learns that: "no later than yesterday he [Burchell] paid three guineas to our beadle to spare an old broken soldier that was to be whipped through the town for dog-stealing."[9] After befriending Burchell with the loan of his purse, the Vicar learns from Burchell the story of Sir William Thornhill, whose generosity and "consummate benevolence" are known throughout the kingdom, and are a bye-word in his own county. Faith in benevolence also marked the innocent and trusting Vicar as an easy prey to Jenkinson, for the Vicar is completely taken in by Jenkinson's pretended relief of the distress of a young lad, by the gift to him of five pounds.[10] Although duped at the time by Jenkinson, the Vicar and his faith in benevolence ultimately triumph, when Jenkinson is

brought low and forced to reform.[11] By having Newbery, the publisher, lend the Vicar "a few pieces" in chapter eighteen, Goldsmith contrives a pleasing compliment to the benevolence of Newbery, "the philanthropic bookseller in St. Paul's churchyard . . . the friend of all mankind."[12] Compassion, sensibility, and sympathy were traits in the character of Arabella Wilmot, the young lady, whom George Primrose, the Vicar's eldest son, eventually marries, for she weeps when she hears the story of the Primroses' misfortunes,[13] and when they are in prison, she rushes to their relief.[14] The Vicar's neighbours also are sympathetic and benevolent, for after the fire which consumed the Primroses' humble dwelling place and all that they had in it, the Vicar informs us that the neighbors contributed "all they could to lighten our distress. They brought us clothes and furnished one of our out-houses with kitchen utensils."[15] Even Jenkinson, in the prison, before he becomes a sort of deus ex machina to help Burchell, now transformed into Sir William, bring about punishment for his newphew and happiness for all others, benevolently offers the Vicar a part of his bed clothes.[16]

On two occasions in the novel, Goldsmith through the person of the Vicar, voices his opinions of the laws, of the need for humanitarian reforms, and of the social order prevailing in eighteenth century England. When unwittingly, the Vicar is taken by the butler to the home of Arabella Wilmot's

uncle, he delivers a declamatory address upon the power of the king to check the tyranny of the rich, and to uphold the rising middle class,[17] and when, in the prison, he has brought about some reformation among the prisoners, and is establishing a system of employment that each person might maintain himself,[18] he expresses his opinion of penal laws in general.

> It were highly to be wished, [the Vicar states] that legislative power would thus direct the law rather to reformation than severity. That it would appear convinced that the work of eradicating crimes is not by making punishments familiar, but formidable. Instead of our present prisons, which find or make men guilty, which enclose wretches for the commission of one crime, and return them, if returned alive, fitted for the perpetration of thousands, it were to be wished we had, as in other parts of Europe, places of penitence and solitude, where the accused might be attended by such as could give them repentance, if guilty, or new motives to virtue, if innocent. And this, but not the increasing punishments, is the way to mend a state.[19]

We have already learned that Goldsmith was very strongly opposed to capital punishment for theft, and now he makes the Vicar speak out against it.

> Nor can I avoid even questioning the validity of that right which social combinations have assumed of capitally punishing offences of a slight nature. In cases of murder their right is obvious . . . . Against such all nature rises in arms; but it is not so against him who steals my property. Natural law gives me no right to take away his life, as by that the horse he steals is as much his property as mine . . . . It is far better that two men should live than that one man should ride.[20]

Savages, the Vicar declares, "seldom shed blood but to retaliate former cruelty. Our Saxon ancestors, fierce as they were in war, had but few executions in times of peace."[21] As the philosopher in The Citizen of the World had been, the

Vicar also is opposed to the increasing numbers of the laws which affix the same punishment to dissimilar degrees of guilt, and thus

> from perceiving no distinction in the penalty the people are led to lose all sense of distinction in the crime, and this distinction is the bulwark of all morality; thus the multitude of laws produce new vices, and new vices call for fresh restraints. It were to be wished then that we . . . made law the protector but not the tyrant of the people. We should then find that creatures whose souls are held as dross only wanted the hand of a refiner; we should then find that wretches, now stuck up for long tortures lest luxury should feel a momentary pang, might, if properly treated serve to sinew the state in times of danger; that few minds are so base as that perseverance cannot amend.[22]

Love of ballads and folklore, always strong in Goldsmith, appears several times in the novel. The Vicar's family, we are told, along with Mr. Burchell, the Flamboroughs, and other neighbours, and accompanied by the blind piper, often gathered together to indulge in an evening's innocent pleasure, to hear some soothing ballad like "Fair Rosamond's Bower," or to listen to the old legend of the "Buck of Beverland."[23] In chapter eight Goldsmith introduced into the novel his own ballad, "The Hermit" which had previously been privately printed for the Countess of Northumberland, under the name "Edwin and Angelina." Percy was then collecting the ballads for his book, <u>The Reliques</u>, which was to appear in 1765, and Goldsmith's interest in the work of his friend, Percy, determined him to try his own hand at the ballad form. From a letter which Goldsmith sent to the <u>St. James' Chronicle</u>,

June 1767, we learn that detractors of the time claimed that Goldsmith had based his poem on "The Friar in Orders Gray," a ballad written by Percy, himself, for his collection, but in actual fact Goldsmith's poem was given to Percy while Percy was still collecting material for his book, and hence Goldsmith's ballad was the inspiration for Percy's poem.

Interest in the particular, and in the individual, in man as opposed to men, was one of the features which marked a shift in aesthetic values during the later neo-classic period, and it is in depicting the particular, an incident, a trait of character, or a picture, that Goldsmith's great gift lies. His description of the simple life of the Vicar, and his family, and their friends, with all their absurdities and their follies, their joys and their sorrows, is what gives the novel its unwonted charm. Goldsmith, himself, seemed hesitant to offer to the public a story which relies for its appeal on the everyday life of humble people, for we read in his advertisement:

> The hero of this piece unites in himself the three greatest characters upon earth: he is a priest, an husbandman, and the father of a family . . . . In this age of opulence and refinement whom can such a character please?[24]

Yet it is the attention to detail, the little loving touches in describing the character of the Vicar, which give us delight in the novel today. We see the Vicar choosing his wife "as she did her wedding gown, not for a fine glossy

surface but such qualities as would wear well."[25] We moralize with the Vicar when he reminds his daughters that "the nakedness of the indigent world may be clothed from the trimmings of the vain,"[26] (words which will ring familiarly in our ears in the chapter on his plays). We take pride in their gooseberry wine,[27] and we smile, when the Vicar, seemingly by accident, overturns the wash which his girls were preparing to improve their complexions.[28] We are rather glad that the family portrait, diamonds painted into Mrs. Primrose's stomacher and all, is too large to be got through the door,[29] for it would have displaced the epitaph, already framed and hanging over the fireplace, and written by the Vicar for his wife, to remind her of her duty to him, and him of fidelity to her.[30] We enjoy the calm of the evening, and imagine we taste the tea, when the Vicar and his family sit on the seat made by his predecessor at a small distance from the house, and "overshaded by an hedge of hawthorn and honeysuckle."[31] We chuckle inwardly with the Vicar, when he gives their full titles to that brilliantly named pair, Lady Blarney and Miss Carolina Wilelmina Amelia Skeggs.[32] (Carolina Wilhelma Amelia, by the way, was the name given by Beau Tibbs to his daughter in _The Citizen of the World_.) We see Goldsmith himself getting into the story when Sir William takes his trip through Europe on foot,[33] and appearing more decidedly in the character and story of George Primrose.[34]

It is thought that Goldsmith was for a time a strolling player, as George had been; it is known that like George, he wandered through Europe and disputed at Universities, and also like George, that he had some idea of teaching English in Holland. When George tells us: "My little piece would come forth in the midst of periodical publications, unnoticed and unknown,"[35] we hear not George speaking but Goldsmith. "The public were more importantly employed," George tells us, voicing Goldsmith's thoughts, "than to observe the easy simplicity of my style, or the harmony of my periods."[36]

Probably the most pleasing details Goldsmith gives us are those, partly of external nature, and partly of customs, used in describing the places and people in the story.

> The place of our new retreat was in a little neighbourhood, [the Vicar tells us,] consisting of farmers who tilled their own grounds and were equal strangers to opulence and poverty. As they had almost all the conveniencies of life within themselves, they seldom visited towns or cities in search of superfluity. Remote from the polite, they still retained a primaeval simplicity of manners; and frugal by long habit, scarce knew that temperance was a virtue. They wrought with cheerfulness on days of labour, but observed festivals as intervals of idleness and pleasure. They kept up the Christmas carol, sent true love-knots on Valentine morning, ate pancakes on Shrovetide, shewed their wit on the first of April, and religiously cracked nuts on Michaelmas eve.[37]

The description of the Vicar's home is related by the Vicar with the same simple ease.

> Our little habitation, was situated at the foot of a sloping hill, sheltered with a beautiful underwood behind and a prattling river before; on one side a meadow, on the other a green. My farm consisted of about twenty

> acres of excellent land, having given an hundred pound for my predecessor's goodwill. Nothing could exceed the neatness of my little enclosure, the elms and hedge-rows appearing with inexpressible beauty. My house consisted of but one story and was covered with thatch, which gave it an air of great snugness.[38]

Goldsmith has not given us too many examples in his novel of that interest in external nature, which was one of the features distinguishing pre-romantic writers, but the description of the Vicar's home given above, and the description of the sleeping village which follows, are two of the best. Careful and accurate observation of a country night scene is revealed to us in these few lines, when the Vicar approaching his home after rescuing his daughter, Livy, describes the scene to us.

> As I walked but slowly the night waned apace. The labourers of the day were all retired to rest; the lights were out in every cottage; no sounds were heard but of the shrilling cock and the deep-mouthed watch-dog at hollow distance.[39]

It would be unfair to leave such a novel without adding a few brief comments on the effect of the novel on writers representative of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and without including one or two opinions of twentieth century writers. Of Goldsmith's own immediate circle, composed largely of proponents of the neo-classic doctrine, we know that Johnson saw enough in the novel to think it worthy of publication, and Burke insisted that it was a genuine achievement, whose distinguishing merit was its pathos.[40] Beyond Goldsmith's circle, Mme. Riccoboni,

(obviously no romantic) to whom Burke had sent the book complained of the pleading in favour of thieves and of people of bad morals, and the first review of the novel, when it was translated into French commenting only on its simplicity and naiveté, remarks that there is interest and spirit in it, but that the style is almost négligé.[41] On the other hand, Goethe, whom Walter Jackson Bate calls, along with Hazlitt, a romantic critic,[42] read the novel as a young man, and never tired of praising it.[43] In the following century, Dickens and Scott, among many others, praised the book profusely, and since then it has never ceased to please. "What Goldsmith succeeded in doing," writes Norman Jeffares, "was the most difficult of literary tasks, the creation of a genuine and yet likeable good person."[44] In his recent biography of Goldsmith, Ralph M. Wardle tells us that the greatness of the book lies, in part, in the richness of its component parts which lend themselves to varying interpretations; the book may be regarded as a penetrating study of human character, or as a melodramatic romance; we may study the ironic, the idyllic, the sentimental, or the natural features of it, but "Don't analyse it," Wardle admonishes us, "read and enjoy it."[45]

CHAPTER V

THE PLAYS

Although it may not be possible to trace any definite relationship between Goldsmith's plays and the rise of the romantic movement, there are two very good reasons for devoting this chapter to them; one, the plays, The Good Natured Man, and She Stoops to Conquer, form an important part of Goldsmith's creative work, and some notice, however brief, should be taken of them in a discussion of his work, and two, while they do not stress the features which contributed to the rise of romanticism, they do contain one or two references to such features and furthermore they present to us, in conjunction with his essay on sentimental comedy, his views concerning the comedies being presented in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Thus we are afforded one more glimpse of Goldsmith and his work as seen against the background of his time, and this gives us a further opportunity to assess the influences which affected his development.

The latter half of the eighteenth century was a barren period for the production of good drama in England. Conceding that there were few English plays of primary importance during this time, H. V. Routh attributes the decline of plays of literary distinction to the advance of the actor, and of

stagecraft in general.

> Paradoxical as it may sound, the decay of the drama was partly due to the advance of the actor. . . . With the coming of Havard, Macklin, Garrick, Mrs. Clive, Spranger Barry, Foote, Yates, Mrs. Abington and King, success no longer depended on the excellence of a play. The stage began to offer a new and non-literary attraction. It was enough for a dramatist to give a 'cue for passion'; he need only serve as a collaborator, as one whose work was half finished till presented by a trained performer . . . . True inspiration was still, of course, the best material on which the player could work, as Garrick found in performing Richard III or Macklin in his new interpretation of Shylock. But, even in the revival of old plays, the masterpieces of the Elizabethan drama were altered to suit the powers of the actor.[1]

Changes in stagecraft, too, "drew the drama further from literature."[2] In 1762 the spectators were removed from the stage, and lighting changes were made, throwing the faces of the actors into relief. The business of the play no longer took place among the onlookers. Authors eventually learned through experience how to cope with these altered requirements. "But for several generations," Routh tells us, "the consequence was a misuse of asides, parentheses, sudden entrances, mistaken identities and other stage effects of like nature."[3]

Goldsmith, conscious of the dearth of good contemporary plays, attributed the lack of good comedy to the prevalence of sentimental drama, and when he undertook the writing of a play he avowedly intended to return to the comedy of "the poets of the last age"[4] and thus to avoid "genteel comedy." When he refers to "the poets of the last

age" Goldsmith does not mean the Restoration dramatists such as Wycherley and Congreve, whose comedies were dependent for their humour upon gay and ofttimes ribald repartee, replete with double meanings, and upon situations of domestic intrigue and duplicity, depicting, perhaps, the gulling of an unsuspecting husband through the carrying out of secret assignations between a wife and her lover. While Goldsmith was willing to satirize such follies and vices,[5] the method he used was more deft and gentle, and he was at all times opposed to any form of lewdness.[6] Goldsmith's reference to "poets of the last age" is to poets like Farquhar and Vanbrugh, two of his favourites, who wrote in his opinion comedies which were humourous.

His first play, The Good Natured Man, is Goldsmith's attempt to write a comedy which would be humorous without being sentimental. In the Preface to The Good Natured Man Goldsmith tells us that he had intended to delineate character and in this he succeeded. Two of the characters in The Good Natured Man, the pessimist, Croaker, and the pretender, Lofty, both original creations, are well drawn and humourous, and they were applauded vigorously by the audience which saw the first presentation of the play. All was not well for Goldsmith in that first presentation, however, for cries of "Low, low," greeted the bailiff's scene and the scene had to be removed from the play for the remaining presentations. In the Preface

Goldsmith informs us:

> In deference to the public taste, grown of late, perhaps, too delicate, the scene of the bailiffs was retrenched in the representation. [Since his friends and supporters, however, approved of the scene Goldsmith was able to continue:] In deference also to the judgment of a few friends, who think in a particular way, the scene is here restored.[7]

The phrase, "who think in a particular way," is significant for it indicates, in 1768, a changing thought about what was considered "low," about depicting the labours of those employed in mean occupations, about the life in general of the "little man," and this changing thought was to affect attitudes and ideas until with developments and additions it gradually evolved into an insistence on the rights of man.

In The Good Natured Man Goldsmith was not able to make a complete break with the genteel comedy which he deplored. Honeywood, the hero, emerges at the end moralizing and resolving to reform very much like the heroes of sentimental comedy. The play hinges upon faith in the moral value of sympathy or benevolence, one of the tendencies which contributed to the rise of the romantic movement. Goldsmith depicts Honeywood as too benevolent for his own good, uncritically benevolent, but Goldsmith, who had himself the failing he attributes to his hero, had no intention of gainsaying the high moral value of benevolence, for when Honeywood's uncle sets out to correct the failing of his nephew, he exclaims to the nephew's valet:

> What a pity it is, Jarvis, that any man's good will to others should produce so much neglect of himself, as to require correction. Yet we must touch his weakness with a delicate hand. There are some faults so nearly allied to excellence, that we can scarce weed out the vice without eradicating the virtue.[8]

Honeywood, too, is given a chance to praise benevolence, when at the end of Act IV he reminds Croaker that "universal benevolence is the first law of nature." Two targets against which we have already seen Goldsmith aim his shafts are hit again in the play, capital punishment for theft and critics who judge by rules. Honeywood's refusal in Act I to prosecute the servant who has been stealing his silverplate saves the thief from hanging, and in Act III Honeywood's defense of even dull writers ends with a thrust at critics. "It is ten to one but the dullest writer," says he to Miss Richland, "exceeds the most rigid French critic who presumes to despise him."

After this first venture into the theatre Goldsmith turned again to other writing. Contributions to various magazines, the life of Dr. Parnell and the life of Bolingbroke to both of which we shall refer later in this chapter, and The Deserted Village which we shall examine in the next chapter, all occupied his attention.

One of his contributions to the Westminster Magazine at the beginning of the year 1773 was an essay on sentimental comedy. The ideas contained in this essay, which appeared in print before the production of his second play,

She Stoops to Conquer, must have been in his thoughts all the time he was working on the play, for in the essay Goldsmith puts into exact words his thoughts about what a comedy should be and his ideas concerning sentimental comedy. We have already noted that one of the cross-currents of thought within the neo-classic tradition, which relied upon feeling to test the validity of aesthetic creations, gave rise to the School of Sensibility, one outward manifestation of which was sentimental comedy. Appearing in a steady stream since 1696 sentimental comedy had become almost stereotyped and its effect was lachrymose rather than comic. A wronged heroine wept through five acts, while her erring husband or lover, misled by folly but at heart good, neglected her. Near the end of the play the husband or lover saw the folly of his ways, reformed and he and the heroine were restored to happiness. Goldsmith, disgusted with such plays, asks in his essay, "Which deserves the preference, the weeping sentimental comedy so much in fashion at present or the laughing and even low comedy which seems to have been last exhibited by Vanbrugh and Cibber?"[9] After describing these comedies "in which the distresses rather than the faults of mankind make our interest in the piece"[10] and which "though they want humour have abundance of sentiment and feeling,"[11] Goldsmith concedes that such comedies may sometimes be entertaining.

> It is true that amusement is a great object of the theatre, and it will be allowed that these sentimental pieces do often amuse us; but the question is, whether the true comedy would not amuse us more.[12]

Goldsmith had no high opinion of the abilities required to write sentimental comedy.

> But there is one argument in favour of sentimental comedy which will keep it on the stage in spite of all that can be said against it. It is, of all others, the most easily written. Those abilities that can hammer out a novel are fully sufficient for the production of a sentimental comedy.[13]

The neo-classical influences upon Goldsmith seem to dominate his thoughts regarding drama for he turns to classical sources for his definition of comedy. Comedy, he claims, quoting the 'authorities,' "should excite our laughter by ridiculously exhibiting the follies of the lower part of mankind."[14] He ends his essay with a plea to restore humour to the stage.

> Humour at present seems to be departing from the stage, and it will soon happen that our comic players will have nothing left for it but a fine coat and a song. It depends upon the audience whether they will actually drive those poor merry creatures from the stage, or sit at a play as gloomy as at the Tabernacle. It is not easy to recover an art when once lost; and it would be but a just punishment that, when by our being too fastidious we have banished humour from the stage, we should ourselves be deprived of the art of laughing.[15]

On the fifteenth of March 1773 Goldsmith's second play, She Stoops to Conquer, was at last produced and with the play, a rollicking, amusing comedy, his break with sentimental comedy was complete. Falling back on an incident from his youth, the mistaking of Squire Featherston's house for an

inn, Goldsmith created one of the few eighteenth century plays which still hold the boards today. There is little of the moralizing we found in The Good Natured Man; any remarks which remotely approach moralizing are made half humourous.

> What a quantity of superfluous silk hast thou got about thee girl, [Hardcastle scolds Kate much as the Vicar chided his daughters.] I could never teach the fools of this age that the indigent world could be clothed out of the trimmings of the vain.[16]

While the situations and incidents of the play are humourous, the supreme creation of the play is Tony Lumpkin, the country booby type of character. Arthur Friedman calls Goldsmith's conception of the character brilliant.[17] Tony motivates the plot by calling his step-father's house an inn to which he directs Marlow and his friend, Hastings, and in addition to motivating the plot, the two most comical scenes in the play revolve around Tony. The scene in which Tony, after egging on his mother to pretend to bewail the loss of Constance Neville's jewels, and promising "to bear witness to" the loss, does, indeed, back up his mother's cries of anguish, knowing full well that her cries are genuine, for he him-self had stolen the jewels, is one of the best scenes in the play, while the scene in which Tony pretends to have driven his mother to Crackskull Common, when all the while she is near her own back door, is hilariously funny when properly produced. To create humour was Goldsmith's chief object in this play, and in this he succeeded. "Did it make you laugh?"

asked the playwright of a young man who had just seen it, and when the answer was an enthusiastic affirmative, "that is all I require."[18] "Amusement of so pure a quality," wrote Virginia Woolf, "will never come our way again."[19]

Although in She Stoops to Conquer Goldsmith succeeded in restoring humour to the stage, the restoration was short-lived. The type of comedy which Goldsmith had succeeded in producing was classical, "ridiculously exhibiting," as he himself told us "the follies of the lower part of mankind." Norman Jeffares tells us that Goldsmith himself gives us the clue to the type of comedy he has written in the very words of the play. When Mr. Hardcastle contributes to the irony of the plot by declaring to the young men, "This is Liberty Hall, you know," he is echoing Pleusicles in the Miles Gloriosus when he says liberae sunt aedes. It is to Plautine comedy we must return, to find, equally unencumbered by psychological profundities or sociological sermonizing, true gaiety.[20] But the philosophical background of the latter part of the eighteenth century was turning away from classical ideas and authors were being influenced by other ideologies and by changing forces. Sheridan's The Rivals with the delightful Mrs. Malaprop, and his School for Scandal carried on in part the pattern Goldsmith had set, but in other plays Sheridan reverted to sentimental comedy, and other writers such as Mrs. Hannah Cowley, and

Burgoyne carried on in the same vein. By the end of the century, the ideas of Godwin and Tom Paine about the rights of man, the dignity of humble life and the triumph of nature over artificial civilization inspired Mrs. Inchbald, Holcroft, and Colman, the younger, to write plays upon these topics. Because these ideas did not really stir all classes but formed merely an abstract speculation for the theatre going public, they did not inspire a new and vigorous series of comedies. The love of spectacle and scenic display contributed further to hamper the work of playwrights. Garrick exhibited the coronation with a real bonfire and a real mob and in 1794 Macbeth was staged with a lake of real water. Too much realism ruined illusion and the thoughtful turned away from the theatre. Whether the spread of the Methodism of Charles and John Wesley, the further development of the novel as a medium of artistic expression, and the rise of a sedate middle class contributed also to the decline in the following century of writing for the theatre, leads to an enquiry beyond the sphere of this discussion. It is sufficient for our purposes to know that in writing his plays, particularly She Stoops to Conquer, Goldsmith was dominated by neo-classic influences, further that in The Good Natured Man some pre-romantic features are to be found and lastly that in She Stoops to Conquer Goldsmith produced a play of high literary merit and jovial comedy.

Before closing this chapter we wish to insert a few remarks about Goldsmith's biographies, because, although they may not necessarily relate to the rise of romanticism, nevertheless in them Goldsmith put into effect ideas which were new in the decade from 1760 to 1770,[21] and which mark him as sensitive to the changing criteria for judging aesthetic validity.

Having remarked in his life of Voltaire that he was describing "trifles" in order to get at the truth, Goldsmith used the same method in his life of Dr. Parnell, and in his biography of Richard Nash. By his use in the life of Voltaire of anecdotes and details described against the background of Voltaire's achievement, Goldsmith seems to be striking a balance in order to produce a fully rounded picture of his subject. Johnson had twice advocated this method of viewing a subject for biography, first in The Rambler LX and later in The Idler LXXXIV, and he had put the method into effect in his life of Richard Savage. Goldsmith follows Johnson's advice. In the life of Dr. Parnell, Goldsmith quotes a series of letters, some written to Dr. Parnell, others written by him, and from these and from a number of anecdotes he relates concerning Dr. Parnell, a complete picture of the man is constructed.

At the beginning of the life of Nash, Goldsmith informs us that he intends to employ the same method. "Thus no

one can properly be said to write history, but he who understands the human heart and its whole train of affections and follies."[22] Of the "trifles" used to "get at the truth" about Nash, many describe follies, such as the story of the wager he won by riding naked through a village upon a cow,[23] or of still another wager at Yorkminster.

> Being at York [Goldsmith reports of Nash] and having lost all his money, some of his companions agreed to equip him with fifty guineas upon this provise, that he would stand at the great door of the Minister, in a blanket, as the people were coming out of church. To this proposal he readily agreed, but the Dean passing by unfortunately knew him. 'What,' cried the Divine, 'Mr. Nash, in masquerade?' 'Only a Yorkshire penance, Mr. Dean, for keeping bad company,' says Nash, pointing to his companions.[24]

Goldsmith relates also many tales of Nash's acts of charity and benevolence, and he shows us the old man, always good company, as he had ever been, always maintaining the proprieties, as he had ever done, but tending in his old age to become a bit garrulous, and boasting of his prowess as a youth in feats of jumping.[25]

Even in the least carefully written of his biographies, the Life of Bolingbroke, published in 1770, Goldsmith added facts and anecdotes to complete our picture of the whole man. Arthur Friedman found that Goldsmith, attempting to comment on Bolingbroke's character and to analyse his motives, had added eleven facts which were unknown to Friedman in any biography of Bolingbroke he had examined.[26] The additions which Goldsmith made, all short and in the first part of the

work, as if he had set out to write an original life comparable to his life of Richard Nash, but he tired of it and ended in hack writing, were: an account of Bolingbroke's keeping Miss Gumley and of his drunkenness,[27] an account of Bolingbroke's authorship of verses prefixed to "Le chef d'oeuvre d'un inconnu" and of "two or three things more . . . which have appeared since his death,"[28] an account of his trouble with his first wife,[29] some of the details of the difficulties with which he was faced when he came into office,[30] some of the details of his quarrel with Oxford,[31] an account of the arrival of George I and his treatment of Oxford,[32] the statement that the Duke of Marlborough "planted his creatures" around Bolingbroke and that an impeachment was being prepared against him,[33] an account of Bolingbroke's work on The Craftsman,[34] the facts of his last illness, his cancer and his treatment of the clergy,[35] a new line, "He passed the latter part of his time at home," which is added to his epitaph,[36] the date of his death as the twelfth of December.[37]

When Goldsmith and Johnson used details to round out their picture of the whole man they were still working within the classical tradition. They were interested in man as a supreme creation on earth, the man whose life they were portraying, and they were trying to view him in his entirety, somewhat as classical writers sought to view the idealized

standard or norm. Their interest in the trivial--an unusual interest for Johnson-- was part of the emerging interest in the individual and the particular, which was characteristic of the changing thought in the latter half of the eighteenth century. An interest in the individual and the particular eventually led away from the neo-classic interest centred in the idealized standard, to a pre-romantic interest in the minutiae, and from the centre out to a romantic interest in the peripheral. Many of the biographies which followed those which Goldsmith had written contained more and more detail and anecdote. Boswell's life of Johnson and Mrs. Piozzi's account of him both contain a wealth of anecdote and detail, and when in 1836 Thomas 'Rainy Day' Smith produced Nollekins and his Times we find the entire life of Nollekins reproduced by a series of chatty anecdotes, and the picture of his times, and of the lives of those around him is sketched for us in the same way, by detail and anecdote. Thus, by employing trivial and detailed facts instead of panegyric to portray his subject Goldsmith is in the vanguard of those who accept the changing ideas and he is not only before his contemporaries in the theory and practices of biography writing, but he anticipates Boswell in his use of a modern conception of biography,[38] and he well deserves the place accorded him by Prof. Stauffer,[39] among the pioneers of the modern theories of biography.

CHAPTER VI

THE POEMS

Goldsmith wrote many short poems and bits of verse, all of which are clever and amusing, but many of which are light and trivial. Jeffares tells us:

> He tried poetical epistles, prologues and epilogues, as well as squibs of various kinds, and gave them all a light conversational touch, an apparent casualness. His early love for ballads came from hearing them sung at home; he wrote his own and sold them while he was an undergraduate; and his Edwin and Angelina: a Ballad was privately printed . . . and frequently reworked.[1]

In his poems as in so much of Goldsmith's other work neo-classic influences and pre-romantic tendencies are found side by side. Except for his ballad, most of the shorter poems are written in the neo-classic tradition. "The Double Transformation," "The Elegy on the Death of a Mad Dog," with its epigrammatic ending, "An Elegy on that Glory of her Sex, Mrs. Mary Blaize" are typical neo-classic satires with all the freedom of form and diction of any nineteenth century poem. In an essay devoted to a defence of eighteenth century poetic diction Geoffrey Tillotson informs us that when he was "writing satire the eighteenth century poet chose his words as freely as any poet. And the same is true when he was writing several of the other kinds"[2] of poetry. Even Wordsworth and Coleridge found little or no poetic diction in eighteenth century satires, familiar epistles, and

occasional verse.[3] "The Haunch of Venison," a poetical epistle to Lord Clare, Goldsmith's thanks for a side of venison his lordship had sent, "Verses," a reply to an invitation to dinner at Dr. Baker's, the prose and verse epistle to Mrs. Bunbury are again like much of the trifling verse turned out by Lord Clare, himself, and by more important poets of the century like Percy, Gay, and even Dryden and Pope. Goldsmith wrote also verse in the manner of Dean Swift, short poems of various types and an oratorio. His three longer poems, The Traveller, The Deserted Village, and Retaliation, however, mark him as an outstanding poet. Two of them, The Traveller and The Deserted Village form the subject of this chapter, while Retaliation will be referred to in the final chapter.

The Traveller was published in December 1764 and with its publication Goldsmith's fame, already in the ascendancy, soared. Johnson thought very highly of The Traveller, praised it openly, and committed long passages of it to memory. In The Traveller the neo-classic influences upon Goldsmith seem to be stronger than those influences which may be termed pre-romantic. "The Traveller," says Frederick W. Hilles,

> comes very near being perfect of its kind. It is an ideal example of the neo-classic ethic poem. Its balanced structure supports the statement which the poem as a whole is making. The balanced discussion (the friendliness or hostility of nature versus the follies or virtues of the natives) re-enforces the theme of moderation.[4]

Yet even in this poem in which the discussion concerns not men but Mankind, there are some hints that influences other than neo-classic were moulding Goldsmith's thought. Tendencies or features which contributed to the rise of romanticism may be traced throughout the poem. Goldsmith, who had dedicated the poem to his brother, the Rev. Henry Goldsmith, with simple words of praise for his brother's humble occupation, in the early lines of the poem extolls his brother's benevolence, sympathy and generosity, and calls down blessings upon his household.

> Eternal blessings crown my earliest friend,
> And round his dwelling guardian saints attend;
> Blest be that spot, where cheerful guests retire
> To pause from toil, and trim their ev'ning fire;
> Blest that abode, where want and pain repair,
> And every stranger finds a ready chair;
> Blest be those feasts where mirth and peace abound,
> Where all the ruddy family around,
> Laugh at the jests or pranks that never fail,
> Or sigh with pity at some mournful tale,
> Or press the bashful stranger to his food,
> And learn the luxury of doing good.[5]

Of all the pre-romantic features to be found in Goldsmith's writings, faith in the high moral value of benevolence, such as that attributed to his brother, appears most frequently.

Except for the personification of "want and pain" there is little in the above quotation of that poetic diction "(diction includes larger matters such as personification, apostrophe, exclamation)"[6] to which Wordsworth objected, but throughout The Traveller there is an intermingling--weighted on the side of neo-classicism, it is true--of the so-called

poetic diction of the eighteenth century and of words which seem to belong to the poetry of the nineteenth century. Words like melancholy, fondly, languid, impelled, pensive, repine, profusion, swains, flow'ry, shelvy, palmy, wat'ry (Tillotson mentions the neo-classic predilection for adjectives ending in y),[7] vernal, smiling (in the smiling land), gelid, cares (another favorite word of eighteenth century writers)[8] haply and the finny deep, all appear. As well, words like forsaken, school-taught and churlish (which one would expect eighteenth century writers to spurn because of its mediaeval associations) are found, and most unexpectedly in a poem by so careful a workman as Goldsmith--a poem, moreover, approved by Dr. Johnson, who could not contain his 'risibility' at the words dun, knife, and blanket in Macbeth--one finds words which "keep the Reader in the company of flesh and blood"[9] such as drags, shed (used as a noun) shifts, wretches, sink (used as a noun) and yells. Besides the use of individual words favoured by eighteenth century writers, Goldsmith makes use in The Traveller of another type of poetic diction, the use of antithetical lines:

> Though poor, luxurious, though submissive, vain,
> Though grave, yet trifling, zealous, yet untrue.[10]

While eighteenth century writers carefully distinguished their kinds of poetry, only in their pastorals and their georgics, to which Tillotson assigns The Traveller,[11]

were they restricted in diction.[12] (Epics are excepted because no eighteenth century poet of much distinction wrote an epic, although Pope started to write one.)[13] The difference between eighteenth and nineteenth century poetic diction in pastorals and georgics arises partly out of the differing ideologies which prevailed in the two centuries. Eighteenth century writers centred their interests in man, and his experiences throughout the ages with external nature, to which he was superior. The poets of the nineteenth century, on the other hand, were conscious of the individual quality of each new experience and of their response to it. To the nineteenth century writer these experiences were fresh, uncoloured by any previous experience or any response of any previous writer. Goldsmith in The Traveller adheres to the eighteenth century ideology. In each country which he describes man looks at external nature which he has conquered and

> Boldly asserts that country for his own.[14]

Although in The Traveller the nature description is not detailed as it is in The Deserted Village, the pictures which Goldsmith creates in the reader's mind are effective and noteworthy. One of the most graphic is the description of Italy's Apennine Mountains.

> Far to the right where Appennine ascends,
> Bright as the summer, Italy extends;
> Her uplands sloping deck the mountain's side,
> Woods over woods in gay theatric pride;
> While oft some temple's mould'ring top between,
> With venerable grandeur marks the scene.[15]

We read of the love a Swiss has for his home and his mountains in these lines:

> Dear is that shed to which his soul conforms,
> And dear that hill which lifts him to the storms;
> And as a babe, when scaring sounds molest,
> Clings close and closer to the mother's breast,
> So the loud torrent, and the whirlwind's roar,
> But bind him to his native mountains more.[16]

A description of external nature is contained within the framework of what is perhaps Goldsmith's best description, "the vignette executed with sureness and precision"[17] which describes the "bodying forth of" Holland:

> Methinks her patient sons before me stand,
> Where the broad ocean leans against the land,
> And, sedulous to stop the coming tide,
> Lift the tall rampire's artificial pride,
> Onward, methinks, and diligently slow,
> The firm-connected bulwark seems to grow;
> Spreads its long arms amidst the wat'ry roar,
> Scoops out an empire, and usurps the shore;
> While the pent ocean rising o'er the pile,
> Sees an amphibious world beneath him smile;
> The slow canal, the yellow-blossom'd vale,
> The willow tufted bank, the gliding sail,
> The crowded mart, the cultivated plain,
> A new creation rescu'd from his reign.[18]

These lines deserve a closer look for they contain a curious mixture of the neo-classic and the pre-romantic. The first word, Methinks, exemplifies one of the forms of inversion to which Wordworth objects and the same form is used five lines later. The passage contains many of the words employed so frequently by neo-classic writers such as sedulous, rampire's, diligently, bulwark, wat'ry, and pent and also bulwark and ocean are personified. In contrast and veering

towards the pre-romantic, the second line describing the broad ocean leaning against the land, has the sweep of a figure Wordsworth might use, while the last four lines create the detailed type of picture found in Tennyson.

There is even an oblique reference in The Traveller to the rights and dignities of man, in the lines with which Goldsmith ends his description of the sons of Britain:

> Fierce in their native hardiness of soul,
> True to imagin'd right, above control,
> While even the peasant boasts these rights to scan,
> And learns to venerate himself as man.[19]

An elegiac interest in the shortness of human life, in the mutability and transitoriness of human achievements, typified by the works of the 'Graveyard Poets,' revealed in Night Thoughts by Young, and in the Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard by Gray, is also to be found in The Traveller.

> As in those domes, where Caesars once bore sway,
> Defac'd by time and tottering in decay,
> Amidst the ruin, heedless of the dead,
> The shelter-seeking peasant builds his shed,
> And, wond'ring man could want the larger pile,
> Exults, and owns his cottage with a smile.[20]

In these lines the mournful is allied with a description of nature:

> Here for a while my proper cares resign'd,
> Here let me sit in sorrow for mankind,
> Like yon neglected shrub at random cast,
> That shades the steep, and sighs at every blast.[21]

This passage also reveals an intermingling of the neo-classic and the pre-romantic, for while the elegiac interest

of 'sorrow for mankind' is pre-romantic the language is neo-classic. Cares, as noted earlier, is a favorite neo-classic word and the use of metonymy, "the steep" for "the hill" or "the mountainside," is another typical neo-classic device. Moreover a romantic poet would hardly have described a "neglected shrub." The romantic "poets were squeamish about external nature."[22] They chose only the beautiful or the noble for their descriptions, and it is doubtful that a "neglected shrub" would be considered beautiful or even noble.

Close to the end of the poem the poet addresses his brother and foretells the theme of The Deserted Village with words in themselves plain but in their context powerfully persuasive:

> Have we not seen, round Britain's peopled shore,
> Her useful sons exchang'd for useless ore?
> Seen all her triumphs but destruction haste,
> Like flaring tapers bright'ning as they waste;
> Seen opulence, her grandeur to maintain,
> Lead stern depopulation in her train,
> And over fields where scatter'd hamlets rose,
> In barren solitary pomp repose?
> Have we not seen at pleasure's lordly call,
> The smiling long-frequented village fall?
> Behold the duteous son, the sire decay'd,
> The modest matron, and the blushing maid,
> Forc'd from their homes, a melancholy train,
> To traverse climes beyond the western main;
> Where wild Oswego spreads her swamps around,
> And Niagara stuns with thund'ring sound?[23]

Goldsmith had long been concerned about the depopulization of the countryside, and his writings on this theme mark him as a writer who aided the rise of romanticism.

The romanticization of subject matter long preceded the deliberate romanticization of the aesthetic medium, Bate informs us,[24] and adds that in this respect the poems of Goldsmith are characteristic. It is to be noted that Bate includes in his reference both The Traveller and The Deserted Village, for Bernbaum credits only the one poem, The Deserted Village, with contributing to the rise of the romantic movement. "Goldsmith was a pioneer," Bernbaum declares in his reference to The Deserted Village, "in the romantic revolt against spoliation of the countryside and the degenerative urbanization of man."[25] While it is difficult to say of a poem so obviously neo-classic in form and theme as The Traveller that any part of it is pre-romantic, nevertheless some pre-romantic tendencies have been noted in its subject matter. Of The Deserted Village, however, one can say that the whole of the subject matter is pre-romantic.

The theme Goldsmith used in The Deserted Village, the revolt against the decline of country villages, inhabited by lovable and virtuous villagers, a cause later taken up by such romantics as Wordsworth and Coleridge, had formed the subject of an essay by Goldsmith as early as 1762. According to Ronald S. Crane, Goldsmith wrote an essay in June 1762 for Lloyd's Evening Post, which appeared also in the British Chronicle, June 14-16, 1762, and which was reprinted in abbreviated form in the Universal Magazine, or The Gentlemen's and Ladies' Polite Magazine for June 1762.

Although the essay was printed anonymously, Crane proves it to be by Goldsmith. The style has the simplicity and grace of Goldsmith's prose, and the subject matter is that of The Deserted Village, the encroachment upon agricultural life caused by the enclosure of commons and small farm lands to provide park lands for the villas of some individuals newly made rich through trade.[26] Because in 1761 Goldsmith had actually witnessed evictions of villagers in order to make way for the villas of men "in trade," he felt very deeply that the growth of commerce and the rise of the merchant of wealth betokened the ruin of Britain, and in The Deserted Village he was striking a blow not only against the spoliation of the country side but also against commerce and the aristocracy of wealth.[27]

The entire poem, The Deserted Village, first published in May 1770, revolves about the theme, the ruination of village life and of the country side through the growth of luxury. The argument is enforced by deploring the degenerating effect upon villagers forced into a life of evil in profligate cities, or by grieving over the hardships of those who, driven from their homes and dear ones, must journey across unknown seas to find new homes in far-off lands.

Although the entire theme of the poem is pre-romantic there are still many neo-classic features to be found in the

poem. The eighteenth century poetic diction, personification and apostrophe all appear, but the theme, the individual pictures and the personal touches in the descriptions of the village schoolmaster and the village preacher tend to make us regard the whole poem as pre-romantic.

Lines 35-50 with typical eighteenth century personification of the village show it destroyed to make more land available for one man:

> Sweet smiling village, loveliest of the lawn,
> Thy sports are fled, and all thy charms withdrawn;
> Amidst thy bowers the tyrant's hand is seen,
> And desolation saddens all thy green:
> One only master grasps the whole domain,
> And half a tillage stints thy smiling plain.
> . . . .
> Sunk are thy bowers, in shapeless ruin all,
> And the long grass o'ertops the mouldering wall,
> And trembling, shrinking from the spoiler's hand,
> Far, far away thy children leave the land.[28]

Then follow the sonorous lines of the famous passage:

> Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay:
> Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade;
> A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroyed, can never be supplied.[29]

Burns, a professed admirer of Goldsmith, only a few years later was to echo the thought expressed in the lines above in the fourth stanza of his poem, A Man's a Man for A' That.

The development and expansion of trade, giving rise to the growth of cities, and to the accumulation of vast wealth by the few engaged profitably in trade, is blamed by Goldsmith for causing the desolation, the depopulation, and

the unhappiness of the innocent villagers. The wealth gained through such trade contributes only to the luxury of the few, but is of no use to the economy of the nation, or to the majority of the inhabitants.

> This wealth is but a name
> That leaves our useful products still the same.
> Not so the loss. The man of wealth and pride,
> Takes up a space that many poor supplied;
> Space for his lake, his park's extended bounds,
> Space for his horses, equipage, and hounds;
> The robe that wraps his limbs in silken sloth,
> Has robbed the neighbouring fields of half their growth;
> His seat, where solitary sports are seen,
> Indignant spurns the cottage from the green;
> Around the world each needful product flies,
> For all the luxuries the world supplies.
> While thus the land adorned for pleasure, all
> In barren splendour feebly waits the fall.[30]

Goldsmith was not against luxury *per se*, but he was opposed to it when it led to oppression, or when indulgence in it was carried so far by the rich that they gave all their attention to acquiring and enjoying luxury and left the nation without leadership.

> Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen, who survey
> The rich man's joys increase, the poor's decay,
> 'Tis yours to judge, how wide the limits stand
> Between a splendid and an happy land.
> Proud swells the tide with loads of freighted ore,
> And shouting Folly hails them from her shore;
> Hoards, even beyond the miser's wish abound,
> And rich men flock from all the world around.[31]

This pre-romantic outcry against increasing the rich man's joys at the expense of the poor is expressed in an antithetical form common to neo-classic poetry, and it is found close to personification of the word "tide," and to a type

of personification decried by Wordsworth,[32] that of an abstract quality, "Folly."

The life to which the poor villager, driven from his home to the city, must accustom himself, is drawn for us in the following lines:

> If to the city sped--What waits him there?
> To see profusion that he must not share;
> To see ten thousand baneful arts combined
> To pamper luxury, and thin mankind;
> To see each joy the sons of pleasure know,
> Extorted from his fellow-creature's woe.
> Here, while the courtier glitters in brocade,
> There the pale artist plies the sickly trade;
> Here, while the proud their long drawn pomps display,
> There the black gibbet glooms beside the way.[33]

Not much better off are those who emigrate:

> Ah, no. To distant climes, a dreary scene,
> Where half the convex world intrudes between,
> To torrid tracts with fainting steps they go,
> Where wild Altama murmurs to their woe.
> Far different there from all that charm'd before,
> The various terrors of that horrid shore;
> Those blazing suns that dart a downward ray,
> And fiercely shed intolerable day.[34]

Poisonous growth in forests, scorpions, rattlesnakes, tigers (too much has been made of Goldsmith's blunder here) and "savage men, more murderous still than they,"[35] all await the hapless immigrant to the new world.

The poem is rich in pictures descriptive of the village life, and of the villagers. In these lines we see the village green, as it once was, gay with sport:

> And many a gambol frolicked o'er the ground,
> And slights of art and feats of strength went round;
> . . . .
> The dancing pair that simply sought renown
> By holding out to tire each other down.[36]

Goldsmith recalls from his youth memories filled with poignancy of sounds and sights which he ascribes to the village of his poem:

> The swain responsive as the mild-maid sung,
> The sober herd that lowed to meet their young,
> The noisy geese that gabbled o'er the pool,
> The playful children just let loose from school.[37]

The village inn is pictured in lines which Goldsmith had enclosed in a letter sent to his brother years before during his travels on the continent:

> The white-washed wall, the nicely sanded floor,
> The varnished clock that clicked behind the door;
> The chest contrived a double debt to pay,
> A bed by night, a chest of drawers by day;
> . . . .
> The hearth, except when winter chill'd the day,
> With aspen boughs, and flowers, and fennel gay,
> While broken tea-cups, wisely kept for show,
> Ranged o'er the chimney, glistened in a row.[38]

The custom of decorating the hearth when it is not in use with leaves and branches and flowers is still commonly followed in many places today.

The general picture of depopulation in the poem is humanized by these descriptive pictures lovingly blended into it, and more especially by the character sketches of individuals, the smith with dusky brow and ponderous strength, the swain mistrustful of his smutted face, the village schoolmaster:

> There, in his noisy mansion, skill'd to rule,
> The village master taught his little school;
> A man severe he was, and stern to view,
> I knew him well, and every truant knew;
> Well had the boding tremblers learned to trace

The day's disasters in his morning face;
Full well they laugh'd with counterfeited glee,
At all his jokes, for many a joke had he;
Full well the busy whisper circling round,
Conveyed the dismal tidings when he frowned;
. . . .
The village all declared how much he knew;
'Twas certain he could write, and cypher too;
. . . .
Amazed the gazing rustics ranged around;
And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew,
That one small head could carry all he knew.[39]

Goldsmith's careful attention to detail, to the particular in these pictures, is in keeping with one of the movements away from the general which characterized the neo-classic tradition. Johnson who epitomizes neo-classicism usually shunned the particular. Too much particularity he felt, led to the predominance of subjective impulse over objective insight, and ended in obscurity. Goldsmith's detailed pictures, however, instead of tending to make his ideas obscure, brighten his poem and strengthen his whole argument. The most lovingly detailed sketch which, along with that of the schoolmaster, delights us as much today as when it was written, is that of the village parson, and in it we find once more Goldsmith's faith in the value of sympathy and benevolence.

A man he was, to all the country dear,
And passing rich with forty pounds a year;
Remote from towns he ran his godly race,
Nor e'er had changed, nor wish'd to change his place;
Unskilful he to fawn, or seek for power,
By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour;
Far other aims his heart had learned to prize,
More bent to raise the wretched than to rise.

His house was known to all the vagrant train,
He chid their wanderings, but relieved their pain;
The long remembered beggar was his guest,
Whose beard descending swept his aged breast;
The ruined spendthrift, now no longer proud,
Claimed kindred there, and had his claims allowed;
The broken soldier, kindly bade to stay,
Sat by his fire, and talked the night away;
Wept o'er his wounds, or tales of sorrow done,
Shouldered his crutch, and showed how fields were won.
Pleased with his guests, the good man learned to glow,
And quite forgot their vices in their woe;
Careless their merits, or their faults to scan,
His pity gave ere charity began.[40]

Goldsmith reveals to us himself and his own longing for home in these pensive lines:

In all my wanderings round this world of care,
In all my griefs--and God has given my share--
I still had hopes my latest hours to crown,
Amidst these humble bowers to lay me down;
My anxious day to husband near the close,
And keep life's flame from wasting by repose.[41]

We find interspersed throughout the poem lines which reveal accurate and careful observation of nature. Descriptions of nature were appearing in the works of other pre-romantic writers. Thomson devoted his whole poem, The Seasons, to nature description, and in 1744 Joseph Warton, two decades after Thomson, expressed in his poem, The Enthusiast or The Lover of Nature, contempt for cities and love for the simple life, for solitude, mountains, and stormy oceans. The passages in Goldsmith's poem are seldom more than a line or two in length but the descriptions are delightful. Auburn, the village, is first described in these lines:

> Where smiling spring its earliest visit paid,
> And parting summer's lingering blooms delayed.[42]

The personification found here, as so frequently elsewhere throughout The Traveller and The Deserted Village is not peculiar to Goldsmith alone. The two nature poets of the eighteenth century mentioned above, Thomson and Joseph Warton, in common with most eighteenth century poets employed this device freely. A few lines further on we find a line reminiscent of Goldsmith's novel, The Vicar of Wakefield:

> The hawthorn bush, with seats beneath the shade.[43]

When the author describes the desolation of the village, his lines are tinged with sadness, and his description despite the words "glassy" and "weedy" sounds like the work of some nineteenth century nature writer.

> No more thy glassy brook reflects the day,
> But choked with sedges, works its weedy way.
> Along thy glades, a solitary guest,
> The hollow sounding bittern guards its nest;
> Amidst thy desert walks the lapwing flies,
> And tires their echoes with unvaried cries.[44]

The cry of the bittern interested Goldsmith always. In the following chapter, when we refer to Animated Nature we shall again hear of the melancholy wail of this bird.

Three of the nature descriptions which Goldsmith uses are expressed in fine similes, one in the melancholy passage expressing his longing for returning to the village as to a haven:

And, as an hare whom hounds and horns pursue,
Pants to the place from whence at first she flew,
I still had hopes, my long vexations past,
Here to return--and die at home at last;[45]

the second describes the parson's efforts to aid his flock:

And, as a bird each fond endearment tries,
To tempt its new fledged offspring to the skies;
He tried each art, reproved each dull delay,
Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way;[46]

the third tells of the parson's hopes of heaven:

To them, his heart, his love, his griefs were given,
But all his serious thoughts had rest in Heaven.
As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
Tho' round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.[47]

The village school is placed:

Beside yon straggling fence that skirts the way,
With blossomed furze unprofitably gay.[48]

The middle article in the Times Literary Supplement for October 27, 1950, tells us that here as elsewhere in the poem memory breaks through the description of a supposed English village and the poet was recalling scenes of his youth, for in any month of the year the furze is never without a speck of gold in Ireland.[49]

One of the loveliest lines of the poem is another simile of external nature describing how the poor female abandoned in the city might have appeared in her home:

Sweet as the primrose peeps beneath the thorn.[50]

When the poem was first translated into French by Charles Michel Campion in 1770, although the translation was

an accurate one which preserved the dignity, tone, design, and philosophy of the poem, many changes were made in the language to make it acceptable to a French reading-public still strongly influenced by neo-classic doctrines. The poem was too romantic in theme for the French. Campion substituted antique names for Goldsmith's humble country villagers: the "village statesmen" become "les Nestors du village," and "the broken soldier" is changed to "Mars débile." Campion also added in the classical manner two allusions to Pomona and one to Ceres.[51] In spite of these efforts on Campion's part to add further neo-classic features to the poem in order to compensate for its romantic theme, The Deserted Village was not immediately accepted in France. Rousseau's writings which praised the simplicity and virtues of rural life, and which influenced the changing thought of the time, leading both to the French Revolution and eventually to the rise of romanticism, had not yet found full acceptance in France, and the praise of simplicity and of rustic pleasures and virtues found both in The Deserted Village, and in Goldsmith's novel, The Vicar of Wakefield, was not pleasing to the French public until the nineteenth century, when romanticism had made itself felt in France.

In Germany, Goethe whom, we have already noted, Bate coupled with Hazlitt as a romantic critic,[52] praised The Deserted Village and claimed that it influenced his own

writings. Goethe, a romantic, who returned to the classics from time to time to clarify his standards, felt that The Deserted Village had the proper blend of the neo-classic and the romantic. The romantic theme of the poem, evoking sympathy for the poor and the oppressed appealed particularly to the man, who in his youth had wandered about Frankfort am Main with sympathy for the poor and wretched, who deplored the split between the classes, and who liked the people of the theatre because with them he found no class distinctions. The melancholy prevailing throughout some of his own works, as Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers, Goethe attributes to the influence of English writers, and he refers specifically to the novels of Richardson, and the poems of Young and Gray, all pre-romantic works, and with them he includes The Deserted Village of Goldsmith: "Und selbst der heitere Goldsmith verliert sich in elegische Empfindungen, wenn uns sein Deserted Village, ein verlornes Paradies, das sein Traveller auf der ganzen Erde wiedersucht, so lieblich als traurig darstellt."[53] That The Deserted Village found such wide acceptance with Goethe and with other romanticists, as the Schlegels, in Germany where, unlike France, romanticism was quickly embraced constitutes one more proof that the poem is pre-romantic and that it contributed to the rise of the romantic movement.

In summing up this chapter therefore it may be said

that while a few romantic tendencies may be found in _The Traveller_, the whole of _The Deserted Village_, the poem in its entirety, is despite the classic features to be found in it a pre-romantic work which contributed decisively to the rise of romanticism.

CHAPTER VII

APPRECIATION

Since it is but fitting that in any discussion of Goldsmith's work some tribute be paid to the author and his writings, this chapter is concerned in a small way with at least a token appreciation.

Goldsmith's main characteristic as a person was his simplicity. Frederick W. Hilles suggests that Sir Joshua Reynolds painted Goldsmith in the well-known portrait "divested of his wig and with shirt collar open"[1] in order to portray this simplicity.

> Almost without exception Reynolds painted his sitters as they were seen in daily life--that is, as they appeared at an assembly, complete with all their finery and in a dignified pose. Why should he have departed from his usual practice when painting Goldsmith? Assuredly this was no accident. Robert Selby, who was sixteen when Goldsmith lived in the Selbys' house, later said that when at home the poet usually 'wore his shirt collar open in the manner represented in the portrait by Sir Joshua.' Reynolds was painting the man he saw. He might have painted him proudly arrayed in his bloom coloured coat. Instead, by portraying him without his wig and in informal dress he is saying as clearly as can be said in painting that Goldsmith was essentially a simple person, unpretentious and unaffected.[2]

Young Northcote, after meeting Goldsmith for the first time, wrote to his brother: "You would very much like him, he has so much good nature and no conceit or affectation."[3]

Goldsmith's style of writing, too, was simple, both his style in poetry and his prose style. Sir Joshua (probably

his best friend, "they [Goldsmith and Sir Joshua] unbosomed their minds freely to each other"[4]) attests to this in his written Portrait of Goldsmith. "He is very sparing of epithets," states Sir Joshua,

> which though they give a richness destroy simplicity, which I think is the peculiar characteristic of his poetry.[5]

The final paragraph in Sir Joshua's memoir speaks of Goldsmith's prose style.

> Of his style in prose we may venture to say he was never languid, tedious or insipid. It is always sprightly and animated. He knew very well the art of captivating the attention of the reader, both by his choice of matter and the lively narration with which it is accompanied.[6]

Goldsmith's poetic style has already been sufficiently illustrated in the chapter dealing with The Traveller and The Deserted Village. His poem, Retaliation, however, reveals to us one quality which is less discernible in the other two poems, his perspicacity, "his secret method of touching the heart of things and putting his finger so knowing--innocently on the truth."[7] In a line or two going right to the heart of the distinguishing characteristic of each of his friends, and of himself, too, Goldsmith pin-points each character with a precise delineation. He calls himself a "gooseberry fool" and equally truthfully "magnanimous Goldsmith."[8] Of David Garrick, he says:

> On the stage he was natural, simple, affecting;
> 'Twas only that, when he was off, he was acting.
> . . . .

> Of praise a mere glutton, he swallowed what came,
> And the puff of a dunce, he mistook it for fame.[9]

Edmund Burke is described in these lines:

> Here lies our good Edmund, whose genius was such,
> We scarcely can praise it or blame it too much;[10]

and then gently derisive of Burke's adherence to party, Goldsmith continues:

> Who, born for the universe, narrowed his mind,
> And to party gave up what was meant for mankind.
> Tho's fraught with all learning, yet straining his throat,
> To persuade Tommy Townsend to lend him a vote.[11]

Sir Joshua Reynolds is dealt with most lovingly, yet perceptively, too:

> Here Reynolds is laid, and to tell you my mind,
> He has not left a better or wiser behind;
> . . . .
> To coxcombs averse, yet most civilly steering,
> When they judged without skill, he was still hard of hearing;
> When they talk'd of their Raphaels, Corregios, and stuff,
> He shifted his trumpet, and only took snuff.[12]

In his prose writing Goldsmith had the happy knack of writing the felicitous phrase. This is illustrated together with the simplicity and naturalness of his style in the opening paragraph of the moving and simple dedication Goldsmith wrote to Sir Joshua at the beginning of The Deserted Village:

> I can have no expectations in an address of this kind, either to add to your reputation, or to establish my own. You can gain nothing from my admiration, as I am ignorant of that art in which you are said to excel; and I may lose much by the severity of your judgment, as few have a juster taste in poetry than you. Setting interest therefore aside, to which I never paid much attention, I must be indulged at present in following my affections. The only dedication I ever made was to my brother, because I loved him better than most other men. He is since dead. Permit me to inscribe this Poem to you.[13]

The opening sentences of the inscription of Goldsmith's play, She Stoops to Conquer, to Dr. Johnson are equally happy and simple in their wording: "By inscribing this slight performance to you, I do not mean so much to compliment you as myself. It may do me some honour to inform the public that I have lived many years in intimacy with you."[14]

In his Portrait, Reynolds tells us that upon Goldsmith's death "epigrams, epitaphs, and monodies to his memory were without end."[15] From that time down to the present reviewers have been lavish in their praise of Goldsmith's style, his gentle irony, his subtle humour and above all his charm. Richard Church praises the ease and flexibility of Goldsmith's style, and the good sense of his poetry.[16] The innocent joys and longings of the villagers in The Deserted Village, "those calm desires that asked but little room," says F. T. Wood "are the pith of life, the essence pressed out from the turbulent unsatisfying mass."[17] Goldsmith's style is used as a sort of touchstone in conjunction with other evidences of authorship to determine which anonymous essays properly belong to Goldsmith. Morris Golden in dropping the essay entitled National Concord from the Goldsmith canon says: "Goldsmith though rarely original in the thought of his images is as rarely so trite as the dull party editorialist who wrote this essay; even in thought he is never so pompously stereotyped."[18] Goldsmith in his best prose, The Vicar of Wakefield

and The Citizen of the World, averaged according to Golden, only two or three images to a chapter or letter, and he confined his images to one or two lines of poetry or to one or two lines of prose. The middle article in the Times Literary Supplement for October 27, 1950 also praises Goldsmith's natural and simple style. "Perhaps it is in the fine, firm texture of his prose," claims the reviewer, "that his greatness is most evident. It sets the literary use of English on a new critical plane of naturalness as against 'fine writing'."[19] The article next discusses the merits of The Vicar of Wakefield. "The writer's art so links the preaching with the story," continues the reviewer, "so lightly lays on the touches of irony and affectionate humour" to produce "exquisite tranquil rightness."[20] Some lines in The Traveller the reviewer feels have "the springy clean elasticity of sap in a willow rod," and he quotes:

> The slow canal, the yellow blossomed vale,
> The willow-tufted bank, the gliding sail.[21]

One major work by Goldsmith of which we have heretofore not spoken is his History of Earth and Animated Nature. Jeffares tells us that it, of all Goldsmith's informative writings, preserves most interest for contemporary readers.[22] Aside from a few palpable blunders,[23] which have too much contributed to its neglect, the book contains besides information culled from Buffon, interesting descriptions of accurate and detailed observation of nature expressed with

the ease and fluency we expect from Goldsmith. Interest in and accurate observation and description of nature was one of the tendencies throughout the eighteenth century which led the thought of the time away from the generalized ideal of neo-classicism to the detailed and the particular. Goldsmith's descriptions of nature are drawn from experiences of his youth and from his own observations throughout life. Wardle tells us in his biography that although Goldsmith had visited both the Scottish Highlands and the Swiss Alps in the meantime, he remembered the view from "a little mount" across the road from his father's house as "the most pleasing horizon in nature."[24] Many other details which Goldsmith observed around Lissoy remained with him in memory throughout his life. "Later in life, in his History of Earth and Animated Nature," Wardle relates,

> he recalled chasing dragonflies, stealing birds' eggs from their nests, observing the honey-bags of the bees, hunting young otters, and listening to the cries of wild birds.[25]

"He is always at his best," says Norman Jeffares,

> when relating what he has seen and reflecting upon it, as when he gazes at the rooks building their nests in the Temple garden, or recalls memories of decoying or bird-netting, or of partridges on the roads outside Paris, or even of the gander who is, though petulant and provoking, the most harmless thing alive.[26]

Before we turn to the conclusion, we shall quote as an example of Goldsmith's observation of nature and also of his pleasant prose style the following delightful passage on

the cry of the bittern:

> Those who have walked in an evening by the sedgy sides of unfrequented rivers, must remember a variety of notes from different water-fowl: the loud scream of the wild goose, the croaking of the mallard, the whining of the lap-wing, and the tremulous neighing of the jack-snipe. But of all those sounds, there is none so dismally hollow as the booming of the bittern. It is impossible for words to give those who have not heard this evening-call an adequate idea of its solemnity. It is like the interrupted bellowing of a bull, but hollower and louder, and is heard at a mile's distance, as if issuing from some formidable being that resided at the bottom of the waters.
>
> The bird, however, that produces this terrifying sound is not so big as a heron, with a weaker bill, and not above four inches long. It differs from the heron chiefly in its colour, which is in general of a paleish yellow, spotted and barred with black. Its wind pipe is fitted to produce the sound for which it is remarkable; the lower part of it dividing into the lungs is supplied with a thin loose membrane that can be filled with a large body of air and exploded at pleasure. These bellowing explosions are chiefly heard from the beginning of spring to the end of the autumn, and, however awful they may seem to us, are calls to courtship, or of connubial felicity.
>
> From the loudness and solemnity of the note, many have been led to suppose that the bird made use of external instruments to produce it, and that so small a body could never eject such a quantity of tone. The common people are of opinion, that it thrusts its bill in on a reed that serves as a pipe for swelling the note above its natural pitch; while others, and in this number we find Thomson the poet, imagine that the bittern puts its head under water, and then violently blowing produces its boomings. The fact is, that the bird is sufficiently provided by nature for this call; and it is often heard where there are neither reeds nor waters to assist its sonorous invitations . . . . I remember in the place where I was a boy with what terror this bird's note affected the whole village; they considered it as the presage of some sad event; and generally found or made one to succeed it.[27]

Johnson's words supply us with the most fitting conclusion to our chapter of appreciation of Goldsmith. "Let not his frailties be remembered; he was a very great man."[28]

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

In this discussion of Goldsmith's work we have attempted to determine Goldsmith's place in the stream of ideas and works of the latter half of the eighteenth century. We have seen that in a period of changing ideas, Goldsmith was influenced now by neo-classic tradition, and again by the changing ideologies which led to the future. No pre-romantic writer knew whither he tended, and while Goldsmith was influenced by ties with the past, more often than not, he chose the ideas which led to the future.

In Goldsmith's writings we have found many of the tendencies and features which contributed to those new conceptions which in their combined form constituted the frame-work for what is known as romanticism: conceptions which considered external nature as worthy of detailed examination, conceptions which considered man, the individual, important and the dignity of the individual in any station in life as worthy, conceptions which growing all through the eighteenth century and sharpened at its end by the French revolution were concerned with the shortness of life and the mutability

of human institutions, conceptions which no longer looked only to the generalized ideal of classical literature as a criterion of aesthetic validity, but which taking into account the literatures of the Celts, the Scandinavians, and other ancient peoples, and the literatures of the middle ages and Elizabethan times depended upon taste and emotion guided by judgment to determine aesthetic standards.

In Goldsmith's critical writings we have found evidences indicative of the changing thought of the latter part of the eighteenth century. The evidences most commonly found in his critical writings were a tendency to rely on taste guided by feeling and sensibility as a standard of aesthetic validity, a tendency, strongly expressed, to regard rules as a hindrance rather than a help to aesthetic creation, and a tendency, equally strongly expressed, to demand a historical view of aesthetic criticism, which implies that different countries and different ages require different models and different standards.

In Goldsmith's creative works we have found evidence of features which contributed directly to the rise of the romantic movement. In all his creative writings we have found faith in the instinctive goodness of human beings, faith in the high moral value of sympathy or benevolence, and interest in the particular, in the individual, in men not Man. In his essays we found insistence on the rights

and dignities of man, attacks on wrongs in the established order, and interest in humanitarian movements and reforms. We also found interest in ballads and folk-lore, and an elegiac interest in the transitoriness of human institutions. Goldsmith's poems in addition to many of the features mentioned above contain accurate descriptions of nature, and more important, they brought forth a new interest in the preservation of rural life and habitation. Goldsmith's book on Animated Nature presents to us many accurate and detailed observations of nature culled from his youth and his experiences throughout life. His plays and biographies also reveal to us the fact that Goldsmith was aligning himself with the future rather than with the past. Most important of all, two of Goldsmith's most outstanding works, his novel, The Vicar of Wakefield, and his poem, The Deserted Village, conceded by such critics as Bate and Bernbaum to be pre-romantic works, not only contain many of the most pertinent pre-romantic features but are entirely devoted to pre-romantic themes. Furthermore, The Deserted Village is considered a pioneer work in the romantic protest against spoliation of the countryside and the degenerative urbanization of man.

We believe, therefore, in view of these many pre-romantic tendencies and features which we have found in Goldsmith's work, that we have demonstrated conclusively

that Goldsmith deserves to be numbered among the writers whose works contributed to the rise of romanticism, and thus to be called a precursor of the English romantics.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

PAGE	NOTE	
1	1	Sir Joshua Reynolds, "Reynolds on Goldsmith," _Portraits_, p. 55.
	2	James Boswell, _Life of Johnson_, II, 214.
2	3	Walter Jackson Bate, _From Classic to Romantic_, p. 2.
3	4	Rene Wellek, _A History of Modern Criticism 1750-1950_, I, 12.
	5	_Ibid_., p. 106.
4	6	_Ibid_., p. 14.
	7	Walter Jackson Bate, _From Classic to Romantic_, p. 5.
6	8	_Ibid_., p.. 17.
	9	_Ibid_., p. 18.
7	10	Rene Wellek, _A History of Modern Criticism 1750-1950_, I, 21.
8	11	_Ibid_., p. 106.
11	12	_Ibid_., p. 107.
	13	Walter Jackson Bate, _From Classic to Romantic_, p. 94.
12	14	_Ibid_., p. 94.
14	15	_Ibid_., p. 131.
20	16	Rufus D. S. Putney, "Laurence Sterne, Apostle of Laughter," _Eighteenth Century English Literature_, ed. James L. Clifford, p. 274.

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PAGE	NOTE	
27	1	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Works_: _A New Edition_, containing pieces hitherto uncollected, ed. J. W. M. Gibbs, III, 466 n.
28	2	Ralph M. Wardle, _Oliver Goldsmith_, p. 98.
	3	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Works_, ed. J. W. M. Gibbs, III, 472.
	4	_Ibid_., p. 490.
29	5	_Ibid_., p. 512.
	6	_Ibid_., p. 512.
	7	Ronald S. Crane, "A Neglected Mid-Eighteenth Century Plea for Originality and its Author," _Philological Quarterly_, XIII, (1934) pp. 21-29.

PAGE	NOTE	
30	8	Walter Jackson Bate, _From Classic to Romantic_, p. 35.
	9	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Works_, ed. J. W. M. Gibbs, III, 510.
	10	Arthur Friedman, "Goldsmith's Contributions to the _Critical Review_," _Modern Philology_, XLIV, (1946) pp. 23-52.
31	11	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Works_, ed. J. W. M. Gibbs, III, 530.
	12	_Ibid_., p. 532.
	13	_Ibid_., p. 533.
	14	Ronald S. Crane, "A Neglected Mid-Eighteenth Century Plea for Originality and its Author," _Philological Quarterly_, XIII, (1934) pp. 21-29.
32	15	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Works_, ed. J. W. M. Gibbs, III, 533-535.
	16	_Ibid_., p. 535.
	17	_Ibid_., p. 475.
33	18	_Ibid_., p. 528.
	19	_Ibid_., p. 528.
34	20	_Ibid_., p. 528.
	21	Walter Jackson Bate, _From Classic to Romantic_, p. 38.
	22	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Works_, ed. J. W. M. Gibbs, III, 516.
	23	_Ibid_., p. 516.
35	24	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Vicar of Wakefield and Other Writings_, ed. by F. W. Hilles, p. xix.
	25	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Works_, ed. J. W. M. Gibbs, IV, 383.
36	26	Ronald S. Crane, "A Neglected Mid-Eighteenth Century Plea for Originality and its Author," _Philological Quarterly_, XIII, (1934) pp. 21-29.
	27	Arthur Friedman, "Goldsmith's Contributions to the _Critical Review_," _Modern Philology_, XLIV, (1946) pp. 23-52.
	28	Walter Jackson Bate, _From Classic to Romantic_, p. 32.
	29	_Ibid_., p. 32.
37	30	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Works_, ed. J. W. M. Gibbs, IV, 251.
	31	_Ibid_., p. 385.
	32	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Vicar of Wakefield and Other Writings_, ed. by F. W. Hilles, p. 65.
38	33	_Ibid_., p. 65.
	34	_Ibid_., p. 66.
	35	Caroline F. Tupper, "Oliver Goldsmith and 'The Gentleman who signs D'," _Modern Language Notes_, XLV, (1930) pp. 71-77.

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43	1	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Works of Goldsmith_, The Globe Edition, ed. D. Masson, 1869, p. 204.
	2	_Ibid_., p. 272.
44	3	_Ibid_., p. 273.
	4	_Ibid_., p. 233.
	5	_Ibid_., p. 233.
46	6	_Ibid_., p. 147.
	7	_Ibid_., p. 148.
	8	W. Roberts, _Times Literary Supplement_, Nov. 30, 1933, p. 855.
	9	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Works of Goldsmith_, The Globe Edition, p. 178.
47	10	_Ibid_., pp. 216-217.
49	11	_Ibid_., p. 245.
	12	_Ibid_., p. 271.
	13	_Ibid_., p. 269.
50	14	_Ibid_., p. 270.
	15	Lois Whitney, _Primitivism and the Idea of Progress_, p. 21.
	16	_Ibid_., p. 24.
	17	_Ibid_., p. 24 n.
	18	_Ibid_., p. 25.
	19	_Ibid_., p. 85.
	20	_Ibid_., p. 85.
51	21	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Vicar of Wakefield and Other Writings_, ed. by F. W. Hilles, p. 128.
52	22	_Ibid_., p. 129.
	23	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Works of Goldsmith_, The Globe Edition, pp. 207-208.
53	24	_Ibid_., p. 214.
	25	_Ibid_., p. 250.
54	26	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Vicar of Wakefield and Other Writings_, ed. by F. W. Hilles, p. xx.
	27	_Ibid_., p. xix.
	28	_Ibid_., p. xix.
55	29	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Works of Goldsmith_, The Globe Edition, p. 377.
56	30	Ronald S. Crane, "A Neglected Mid-Eighteenth Century Plea for Originality and its Author," _Philological Quarterly_, XIII, (1934) pp. 21-29.
	31	Oliver Goldsmith, _The Works of Goldsmith_, The Globe Edition, p. 381.
	32	_Ibid_., p. 381.
57	33	Lois Whitney, _Primitivism and the Idea of Progress_, p. 202.
	34	_Ibid_., p. 192.

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57	35	Ibid., p. 220.
	36	Ibid., p. 220.
	37	Ibid., p. 200.
	38	Oliver Goldsmith, The Works of Goldsmith, The Globe Edition, p. 390.
58	39	Ibid., pp. 392-393.
	40	Ibid., p. 393.
	41	Ibid., p. 393.
59	42	Arthur Friedman, "Goldsmith's Contributions to the Critical Review," Modern Philology, XLIV, (1946) pp. 23-52.
60	43	Oliver Goldsmith, The Works of Goldsmith, The Globe Edition, p. 400.
	44	Oliver Goldsmith, The Works of Goldsmith, ed. P. Cunningham, IV, 212.
	45	Oliver Goldsmith, The Works of Goldsmith, The Globe Edition, p. 414.
61	46	Rene Wellek, A History of Modern Criticism, 1750-1950, I, 118.
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	48	Ibid., p. 296.
62	49	Oliver Goldsmith, The Works of Goldsmith, ed. P. Cunningham, III, 294.
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	51	Ibid., p. 315.
	52	Ibid., p. 316.
	53	Ibid., p. 239.

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	2	Oliver Goldsmith, The Vicar of Wakefield and Other Writings, ed. by F. W. Hilles, Ch. 31, pp. 446 ff.
66	3	Ibid., p. 424.
	4	Ibid., pp. 421-422.
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	6	Ibid., p. 424.
67	7	Ibid., p. 306.
	8	Ibid., p. 308.
	9	Ibid., p. 314.
	10	Ibid., p. 356.
68	11	Ibid., pp. 418 ff.

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68	12	*Ibid.*, p. 377.
	13	*Ibid.*, p. 384.
	14	*Ibid.*, p. 450.
	15	*Ibid.*, p. 407.
	16	*Ibid.*, p. 418.
69	17	*Ibid.*, pp. 380 ff.
	18	*Ibid.*, p. 425.
	19	*Ibid.*, pp. 425-426.
	20	*Ibid.*, p. 426.
	21	*Ibid.*, p. 426.
70	22	*Ibid.*, p. 427.
	23	*Ibid.*, p. 324.
71	24	*Ibid.*, p. 305.
72	25	*Ibid.*, p. 305.
	26	*Ibid.*, p. 320.
	27	*Ibid.*, p. 306.
	28	*Ibid.*, p. 326.
	29	*Ibid.*, p. 366.
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	31	*Ibid.*, p. 320.
	32	*Ibid.*, p. 345.
	33	*Ibid.*, p. 316
	34	*Ibid.*, pp. 387 ff.
73	35	*Ibid.*, p. 389.
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	37	*Ibid.*, pp. 317-318.
74	38	*Ibid.*, p. 318.
	39	*Ibid.*, p. 406.
	40	R. H. Murray, *Edmund Burke*, p. 130.
75	41	W. Roberts, "Goldsmith in France," *Times Literary Supplement*, Dec. 28, 1933, p. 921.
	42	Walter Jackson Bate, *From Classic to Romantic*, p. 171.
	43	Carl Hammer Jr., "Goethe's Estimate of Oliver Goldsmith," *Journal of English and German Philology*, XLIV, (1945) pp. 131-138.
	44	A. Norman Jeffares, *Oliver Goldsmith*, p. 23.
	45	Ralph M. Wardle, *Oliver Goldsmith*, p. 171.

CHAPTER V

77	1	H. V. Routh, "The Georgian Drama," *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, XI, 257-258.
	2	*Ibid.*, p. 258.
	3	*Ibid.*, p. 259.
	4	Oliver Goldsmith, *The Works of Goldsmith*, The Globe Edition, p. 609.

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78	5	Oliver Goldsmith, *The Vicar of Wakefield and Other Writings*, ed. by F. W. Hilles, pp. 99 ff., pp. 116 ff.
	6	Ibid., pp. 161 ff.
79	7	Oliver Goldsmith, *The Works of Goldsmith*, The Globe Edition, p. 609.
80	8	Oliver Goldsmith, *The Works of Goldsmith*, The Globe Edition, p. 611.
81	9	Oliver Goldsmith, *The Vicar of Wakefield and Other Writings*, ed. by F. W. Hilles, p. 79.
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	11	*Ibid*., p. 81.
82	12	*Ibid*., p. 81.
	13	*Ibid*., p. 82.
	14	*Ibid*., p. 80.
	15	*Ibid*., p. 82.
83	16	*Ibid*., p. 508.
	17	John Harrington Smith, "Tony Lumpkin and the Country-booby Type in Antecedant English Comedy," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, LVIII, (1943) pp. 1038-1049.
84	18	Oliver Goldsmith, *The Vicar of Wakefield and Other Writings*, ed. by F. W. Hilles, pp. xxi-xxii.
	19	*Ibid*., p. xxii.
	20	A. Norman Jeffares, *Oliver Goldsmith*, pp. 33-34.
86	21	Ralph M. Wardle, *Oliver Goldsmith*, p. 126.
87	22	Oliver Goldsmith, *The Vicar of Wakefield and Other Writings*, ed. by F. W. Hilles, p. 233.
	23	*Ibid*., p. 240.
	24	*Ibid*., p. 240.
	25	*Ibid*., p. 288.
	26	Arthur Friedman, "Goldsmith's Life of Bolingbroke," *Modern Language Notes*, L, (1935) pp. 25-29. Friedman examined the following biographies of Bolingbroke: *Memoirs*(1752), *The Life and History of the Rt. Hon. Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, London*, (1754), *Memoires Secrets*, Londres (1754), *Universal Magazine*, XXVI, (1760), *Universal Museum and Complete Magazine*, II, (1766).
88	27	Oliver Goldsmith, *The Works*: *A New Edition*, containing pieces hitherto uncollected, ed. J. W. M. Gibbs, IV, 184.

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88	28	Ibid., pp. 184-185.
	29	Ibid., p. 185, also p. 210.
	30	Ibid., pp. 188-189.
	31	Ibid., pp. 190-191.
	32	Ibid., p. 191.
	33	Ibid., p. 193.
	34	Ibid., pp. 213-14.
	35	Ibid., p. 219.
	36	Ibid., p. 220.
	37	Ibid., p. 220.
89	38	Joseph E. Brown, "Goldsmith and Johnson on Biography," Modern Language Notes, XLII, (1927) pp. 168-171.
	39	Donald Stauffer, The Art of Biography in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 380-386.

CHAPTER VI

90	1	A. Norman Jeffares, Oliver Goldsmith, p. 25.
	2	Geoffrey Tillotson, "Eighteenth Century Poetic Diction," Eighteenth Century English Literature, ed. James L. Clifford, p. 216.
91	3	Ibid., p. 216.
	4	Oliver Goldsmith, The Vicar of Wakefield and Other Writings, ed. F. W. Hilles, p. xxi.
92	5	Ibid., The Traveller, lines 11-22.
	6	Geoffrey Tillotson, "Eighteenth Century Poetic Diction," Eighteenth Century English Literature, ed. James L. Clifford, p. 214.
93	7	Ibid., p.222.
	8	Ibid., p.222.
	9	William Wordsworth, "Observations Prefixed to 'Lyrical Ballads'," 1800.
	10	The Traveller, ll. 130 ff.
	11	Geoffrey Tillotson,"Eighteenth Century Poetic Diction," Eighteenth Century English Literature, ed. James L. Clifford, p. 229.
94	12	Ibid., p. 216.
	13	Ibid., p. 216.
	14	The Traveller, l. 66.
	15	Ibid., ll. 107 ff.
95	16	Ibid., ll. 207 ff.
	17	A. Norman Jeffares, Oliver Goldsmith, p. 27.
	18	The Traveller, ll. 287 ff.
96	19	Ibid., ll. 335 ff.
	20	Ibid., ll. 163 ff.
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	23	*The Traveller*, ll. 385 ff.
98	24	Walter Jackson Bate, *From Classic to Romantic*, p. 168.
	25	Ernest Bernbaum, *The Guide Through The Romantic Movement*, p. 16.
99	26	Ronald S. Crane, "The Deserted Village in Prose," *Times Literary Supplement*, Sept. 8, 1927, p. 607.
	27	Howard J. Bell Jr., "The Deserted Village and Goldsmith's Social Doctrines," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, LIX, (1944) pp. 747-772.
100	28	Oliver Goldsmith, *The Vicar of Wakefield and Other Writings*, ed. F. W. Hilles, *The Deserted Village*, ll. 35 ff., ll. 47 ff.
	29	*Ibid*., ll. 51 ff.
101	30	*Ibid*., ll. 275 ff.
	31	*Ibid*., ll. 267 ff.
102	32	William Wordsworth, "Observations Prefixed to 'Lyrical Ballads'," 1800.
	33	*The Deserted Village*, ll. 311 ff.
	34	*Ibid*., ll. 343 44
	35	*Ibid*., l. 358.
	36	*Ibid*., ll. 21 ff., ll. 25 ff.
103	37	*Ibid*., ll. 119 ff.
	38	*Ibid*., ll. 229 ff., ll. 235 ff.
104	39	*Ibid*., ll. 197 ff., 209 ff., 216 ff.
105	40	*Ibid*., ll. 143 ff.
	41	*Ibid*., ll. 85 ff.
106	42	*Ibid*., ll. 3 ff.
	43	*Ibid*., l. 13.
	44	*Ibid*., ll. 41 ff.
107	45	*Ibid*., ll. 95 ff.
	46	*Ibid*., ll. 169 ff.
	47	*Ibid*., ll. 189 ff.
	48	*Ibid*., ll. 195 ff.
	49	Middle Article in *Times Literary Supplement*, Oct. 27, 1950, p. 676.
	50	*The Deserted Village*, l. 332.
108	51	Edward D. Seeber and Henry H. H. Remak, "The First French Translation of the Deserted Village," *Modern Language Review*, XLI (1946) pp. 62-67.
	52	Walter Jackson Bate, *From Classic to Romantic*, p. 171.
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CHAPTER VII

PAGE	NOTE	
111	1	Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portraits*, ed. F. W. Hilles, p. 28.
	2	*Ibid.*, p. 28.
	3	*Ibid.*, p. 29.
112	4	*Ibid.*, p. 46.
	5	*Ibid.*, p. 58.
	6	*Ibid.*, p. 59.
	7	Richard Church, "Oliver Goldsmith," *Criterion*, VIII, (1929) pp. 437-44.
	8	Oliver Goldsmith, *The Vicar of Wakefield and Other Writings*, ed. F. W. Hilles, "Retaliation," ll. 16 and 8.
113	9	*Ibid.*, ll. 101-102, 109, 110.
	10	*Ibid.*, ll. 29 ff.
	11	*Ibid.*, ll. 31 ff.
	12	*Ibid.*, ll. 137 ff.
	13	*Ibid.*, p. 477
114	14	*Ibid.*, p. 503.
	15	Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portraits*, p. 44.
	16	Richard Church, "Oliver Goldsmith," *Criterion*, VIII, (1929) pp. 437-44.
	17	Frederick T. Wood, *Times Literary Supplement*, Mar. 1, 1934, pp. 133-134.
	18	Morris Golden, "Goldsmith and 'National Concord'," *Notes and Queries*, CC,(1955) pp. 436-38.
115	19	*Times Literary Supplement*, Oct. 27, 1950, p. 676.
	20	*Ibid.*, p. 676.
	21	*Ibid.*, p. 676.
	22	A. Norman Jeffares, *Oliver Goldsmith*, p. 37.
	23	One of these blunders was Goldsmith's declaration that the upper jaw in animals was moveable.
116	24	Ralph M. Wardle, *Oliver Goldsmith*, p. 18.
	25	*Ibid.*, p. 17.
	26	A. Norman Jeffares, *Oliver Goldsmith*, p. 37.
117	27	*Ibid.*, p. 37-38.
	28	James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, II, 282.

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